

# ISLAM IN THE MALAY WORLD

AL-FALIMBANI'S SCHOLARSHIP

Mohammed Hussain Ahmad

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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

*To My beloved late father; Pehin Penyurat Haji Awang Ahmad bin  
Pehin Jawatan Dalam Haji Awang Mohammad Yusof (d.1436/2015),  
May Allah sanctify his soul and bless him.*







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## Transliteration

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Except for common terms such as Islam and the Prophet Muhammad SAW, the transliteration of Arabic words, terms and names in this book basically follows the rules employed by the *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*. This also applies to Malay persons whose names are of Arabic origin rather than using their popular Malay spelling: e.g. ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī rather than Abdul Samad Palimbani or other Malay variations. Non Arabic Malay names are retained in their original spelling, as well as book’s title as romanised by the editor or the publisher.

All foreign words (or non English words) are italicised throughout the text. Diacritic marks for Arabic words are used throughout the text except for words used in their common English forms such as Islam and the Prophet Muhammad SAW. Names of places that have been anglicised are used in their familiar form: thus ‘Mecca’ instead of ‘Makkah’, or ‘Medina’ instead of ‘Madīnah.’

As a rule, the plural of all Arabic words is formed simply by adding ‘s’ to their more familiar singular forms: thus, ‘*isnāds*’ instead of ‘*asānīd*,’ or ‘*ḥadīths*’ instead of ‘*aḥādith*.’ However ‘*ulamā*’, ‘*muḥaddithūn*, and occasionally ‘*fuqahā*’ are kept in their Arabic plural forms.

All dates cited include both the Muslim date or Anno Hijri (A.H.), which is given first, followed by the Gregorian date or Anno Domini (A.D.) after an oblique stroke: thus 1132/1719, 1254/1839. This will allow readers unfamiliar or confused by the Hijri calendar dates to readily know the equivalent Gregorian dates.

For the transliteration of Arabic words and names used in this book, the following table illustrates the system is implemented:

## Transliteration

Arabic	English	Arabic	English	Arabic	English
أ	<i>a</i>	ب	<i>b</i>	ت	<i>t</i>
ث	<i>th</i>	ج	<i>j</i>	ح	<i>h</i>
خ	<i>kh</i>	د	<i>d</i>	ذ	<i>dh</i>
ر	<i>r</i>	ز	<i>z</i>	س	<i>s</i>
ش	<i>sh</i>	ص	<i>ṣ</i>	ض	<i>ḍ</i>
ط	<i>ṭ</i>	ظ	<i>ẓ</i>	ع	<i>ʿ</i>
غ	<i>gh</i>	ف	<i>f</i>	ق	<i>q</i>
ك	<i>k</i>	ل	<i>l</i>	م	<i>m</i>
ن	<i>n</i>	ه	<i>h</i>	و	<i>w</i>
ي	<i>y</i>				

ء is denoted by ' when not at the beginning of a word.

ة is denoted by *h*, except in *idāfah* constructions where it is denoted by *t*.

### Short Vowels:

ـَ is denoted by *a*      ـِ is denoted by *i*      ـُ is denoted by *u*

### Long Vowels:

ـَـ is denoted by *ā*      ـِـ is denoted by *ī*      ـُـ is denoted by *ū*

### Diphthongs:

ـَي is denoted by *ay* eg. *Sayr*, *Zayn*, etc. ـَو is denoted by *aw* eg. *Yawm*, *Tawhīd*, *al-Jawharī*, etc. The *shaddah* ّ is denoted by the doubling of the letter.

The definite article ال is denoted *al-* in the case of moon or lunar letters (*al-qamariah*) thus *al-Ahḍal*, *al-Fādānī*, etc. and is assimilated with the ل (*l*) of the preceding article in the case of sun or solar letters (*ash-shamsiyyah*), thus *aṣ-Ṣamad*, *az-Zabīdī*, *at-Tārīkh*, *as-Sammān*, *ad-Dīn*, etc. except when it follows an inseparable preposition or construction, in which case it will be denoted 'l-, thus *fī 'l-qarn*, *wa 'l-mi'rāj*, *bi 'sh-shuyūkh*, *wa 'th-thālith*, *li 'l-qurbah*, etc.

The divine name (*lafẓ al-jalālah*) is transliterated as 'Allāh' in all cases.

## Preface

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The subject of this study, ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī, an eighteenth century Muslim scholar from Palembang, Sumatra, although known to modern scholarship still deserves a more focused and analytical study. It is possible to identify many of his works that have not been utilised by modern scholars. These mainly include unpublished manuscripts and a few of his published works. As a result of my examination of these manuscripts and in addition to his published works, significant details of ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī’s life, his role as a scholar and *Ṣūfī*, and his contributions to the intellectual developments of the Malay Archipelago have come to light and can now be presented in some detail and more critically than has been done thus far.

Despite being known only as a *Ṣūfī* in the Malay Archipelago through his magnum opus *Sayr as-Sālikīn* upon which his fame is chiefly based, this study uncovers evidence of his erudition in virtually every aspect of the Islamic religious sciences. This is substantiated by tracing his contacts with numerous major scholars of his period, the subjects he learned from them and the evidence that he later transmitted these teachings to his disciples through oral instructions and his written works in addition to testimonies from his own students. It is by analysing his teacher-student links that we can better understand his place in the nexus of the eighteenth century scholars and highlight his central position in the intellectual network of that time.

This book, in five chapters and three appendices attempt to address the following topics:

An examination of the range of sources relevant to the study of 12<sup>th</sup>/18<sup>th</sup> century Islamic religious scholars in the Arab and Malay worlds with whom al-Falimbānī had direct or indirect intellectual links. These sources include Arabic biographical dictionaries, collections of *isnāds* and *thabat* works, catalogues of Arabic and Oriental manuscripts, and works of contemporaneous ‘*ulamā*’ to al-Falimbānī. I attempt to highlight the importance of such sources in the introductory chapter.

The introductory chapter also provides a brief critical survey of the development of scholarly links between the Malay Archipelago



## Preface

and the Arab world, which evidently intensified dynamically from the seventeenth century onwards through direct scholarly contacts. This is followed by a survey of the development of Palembang as a new Islamic learning centre in the eighteenth century.

The first chapter provides a critical survey of sources and contemporary studies on al-Falimbānī and his cultural context; using this as a base enabled this research to resolve a number of issues surrounding the life of al-Falimbānī. Based on fresh evidence from unpublished manuscripts and biographical reports by his contemporaries, also helped to eliminate a number of erroneous conclusions deduced by previous studies. Research in such a wide range of sources made it possible to attempt a more accurate reconstruction and somewhat detailed biographical data of al-Falimbānī. This is the subject of chapter two.

Detailed examinations of his teachers further revealed his scholarly activities and his crucial role in connecting scholars of earlier generations with later scholars comprise chapter three; while a thorough investigation of his close students provides information on his scholarly discourse and further historical information on his life. This form the fourth chapter. My research has made it possible to highlight his central position in scholarly networks and his respected career as a teacher in Mecca and Zabīd.

Chapter five presents an analytical and critical study of all of his known writings, including mainly unpublished manuscripts in addition to his few published works. This assisted my study in further charting his scholarly activities in terms of his teaching and writing which further highlights his contributions to the intellectual and socio-religious development of the Malay Archipelago and its links with Arabic centres of Islamic learning and culture during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

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I cannot leave The University of Sydney without thanking the staff in the Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies, especially Dr Nijmeh Hajjar, a Senior Lecturer, for her kindness and encouragement, and the helpful team of people at The University of Sydney Library especially the staff of the Interlibrary Loans/Document Delivery Department: Bruce Isaacs, Rod Dyson, Aleksandra Nikolic, Cong Tam Dao and Jim Nicholls, for the help they rendered in obtaining sources from overseas for my use.

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## Acknowledgements

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# Introduction

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## Preamble

The subject of this work is the eighteenth century Muslim *Ṣūfī* scholar ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī and his contribution to Islamic intellectual life in the Malay world and in centres of learning in the Arab world. In order to successfully do this, al-Falimbānī needs to be placed in his social and historical context. This requires knowledge of those scholars and intellectuals who were prominent and active in the Islamic centres of learning during this period. This information can be traced through examining the primary Arabic sources from that time, specifically the two genres of biographical dictionaries (*kutub at-tarājim*) and works on scholarly intellectual transmission (*isnād* and *ijāzah*).

In order to correctly identify and benefit from consulting biographical compilations covering the period in question, we have to understand how this genre of literature works. Therefore, the following section will concisely discuss various types of compilation and highlight those relevant to this study. The second section of this chapter discusses the importance of *isnād* and how scholars preserved this tradition in regards to transmitting *ḥadīth* and also scholarly texts. This is relevant to this study because it allows us to trace the teacher-student link between al-Falimbānī, his teachers and his students. In addition, it allows us to view his contemporaries in a wider context, specifically those with whom he did not have a direct relationship, but nevertheless were prominent at the time.

The final section of this chapter discusses intellectual links between the Malay and Arab communities and also the evidence showing that they intensified from the seventeenth century onward.

## Biographical Compilations

The Arabic biographical dictionaries of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.H. (eighteenth and nineteenth centuries A.D.), constitute an invaluable



category of sources for information on ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī, his teachers, students and contemporaries. In his pioneering work, Azyumardi Azra utilised a number of these sources, although there are still several important Arabic biographical dictionaries he did not utilise.<sup>1</sup>

Most of these biographical dictionaries that previously had not been utilised, relate to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.H. (eighteenth and nineteenth centuries A.D.), the period of this study in which al-Falimbānī lived. However, biographical dictionaries pertaining to earlier and later periods especially the eleventh A.H. (seventeenth A.D.) and fourteenth A.H. (twentieth A.D.) centuries are also useful for this study, and I have therefore utilised a number of these as well. Examining the biographical dictionaries from the eleventh century A.H., provides us with links and information on al-Falimbānī’s ‘grand-teachers,’ while consulting the fourteenth century A.H. sources provides us with accounts of his students and their students. Thus, these Arabic biographical dictionaries taken together furnished essential information for the current study, particularly on the networks of scholars with whom al-Falimbānī was connected, and the extent of their intellectual activity at the time.

As a rule, the compiler of a biographical dictionary in the Islamic tradition includes in his work information such as the subject’s name and ancestry, date of birth (if known), date of death, a list of his teachers and occasionally his students, a bibliography of works written by the subject (*muṣannafāt* or *taṣānif* or *mu’allafāt*), his travels, pilgrimage accounts and sojourn (*riḥlāt* and *muzūl*), as well as his virtues and merits (*faḍā’il* and *manāqib*). Every so often, depending on the subject’s field of interest (*muḥaddith*, *faqīh*, Qur’ān specialist, *Ṣūfī*, etc.), we can find useful anecdotes (*nawādir*), formal epistles and correspondence (*rasā’il* and *murāsalāt*) and reports on miracles (*karāmāt*) particularly of *Ṣūfī* scholars.

The range of compilations of these biographical dictionaries is quite varied, with some compiled by the biographer on ‘ulamā’ of a specific period or century such as al-Muḥibbī’s (d. 1111/1699) work on notable persons of the eleventh century A.H.; al-Murādī’s (d. 1206/1791) work on notable persons of the twelfth century A.H.; al-Bayṭār’s (d. 1335/1916) history of the thirteenth century A.H.; and ‘Abd al-Jabbār’s (d. 1391/1971) biographical notices of some of the scholars in the fourteenth century



A.H.<sup>2</sup> Within this classification (on ‘*ulamā*’ of a specific period in time), apart from providing biographical entries on scholars in alphabetical order, some biographers also arrange the subjects according to generations (*ṭabaqāt* sing. *ṭabaqah*) such as al-Ghazzī’s (d. 1061/1651) *Orbiting Planets on Notables* of the Tenth Century A.H.<sup>3</sup> In this work, al-Ghazzī divides the ‘*ulamā*’ into three generations according to their year of death corresponding to the three thirds of that century. Within each of these generations the names are arranged in alphabetical order.

Al-Ghazzī’s method of classification is followed by al-Ahdal (d. 1250/1834) in his *an-Nafas al-Yamānī* on his own teachers and their teachers.<sup>4</sup> The only difference is that though al-Ahdal divides his teachers into *ṭabaqāt*, he does not arrange the entries according to the year of death nor in alphabetical order, instead he arranged them according to the teachers they studied with. Hence, the first generation is for his teachers who studied with his grandfather, Yaḥyā b. ‘Umar Maqbūl al-Ahdal (d. 1147/1734); the second generation for his teachers who studied with his maternal uncle, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Umar Sharīf Maqbūl al-Ahdal (d. 1163/1749); and the third for his teachers who studied with his father, Sulaymān b. Yaḥyā b. ‘Umar al-Ahdal (d. 1197/1782); and finally, the last category of his teachers is for a number of visiting scholars who taught in Zabīd (*ṭabaqat al-wāfīdīn*). Among this latter category we find the name of ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī who also studied with the author’s grandfather and maternal uncle.

Some biographical dictionaries are concerned with the ‘*ulamā*’ of a particular place or city for a specific period, such as Muḥammad Zabārah’s (d. 1381/1961) *Attainment of Purpose* from biographical notices of the Yemeni scholars in the thirteenth century A.H.; Muḥammad Muṭī‘ al-Hāfīz’s *History of Damascene Scholars* in the fourteenth century A.H.; and Muḥammad at-Tunjī’s edition of the *Biographical Notices of Notables of Medina* in the twelfth century A.H. by an unknown author.<sup>5</sup>

Another variety of biographical dictionaries gather reports on ‘*ulamā*’ from two or more consecutive centuries such as Maḥmūd al-Ālūsī’s (d. 1342/1924) *Pungent Musk* in the diffusion of traits of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.H.; Muḥammad ash-Shawkānī’s (d. 1250/1834) *Rising Full Moon on the Charming Qualities* of those after

the seventh century A.H.; ‘Abd Allāh al-Mu‘allimī’s compilation of learned scholars of Mecca from the ninth till the fourteenth century A.H.; and Muḥammad al-Hilāh’s compilation on the *History and Historians of Mecca* from the third till the thirteenth century A.H.<sup>6</sup>

## The Significance of Authentic Tradition (*Isnād*)

Further categories of sources utilised for this study are the collections of *isnād* representing the chains of teacher-disciple links along which scholarly texts were transmitted and handed down.<sup>7</sup> *Isnād* is also defined as the sequence of transmitters for a *ḥadīth* (prophetic tradition) or a specific work or body of work e.g., ‘so and so narrated to me that so and so ... etc. ... that so and so heard the Prophet SAW say the following ... etc.’. Some authors of *isnād* works provide useful details including not only the names of their teachers but also where they met with them, the works they studied with them, the *ijāzah* (permission or authorisation granted by a teacher to his student to narrate a *ḥadīth* or a specific work or body of work, whether written or verbally, and occasionally by way of correspondence), together with the full *isnāds* for these works. Occasionally, they also provide important dates such as the year they met these teachers, the year they travelled to acquire a particular work or hear a *ḥadīth*, the year of death of a teacher, etc. As for ‘*ulamā*’ who have come to hold a central position in intellectual scholarly networks, such works constitute a rich source for our knowledge of historical and social aspects of that period.

This is definitely true of the *isnād* works of the twelfth A.H. (eighteenth A.D.) century ‘*ulamā*’ such as Muḥammad Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī’s (d. 1205/1790) *al-Mu‘jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, a comprehensive biographical dictionary of over six hundred noted scholars from the twelfth century A.H. and his *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, a work of more than one thousand and four hundred lines of rhymed prose containing the names of the author’s teachers and their teachers; Aḥmad al-‘Aṭṭār’s (d. 1218/1803) *Thabat*, containing a list of al-‘Aṭṭār’s teachers, and a collection of his *isnāds* by his student ‘Abd ar-Raḥman al-Kuzbarī (d. 1262/1845) entitled

*Intikhāb al-‘Awālī*, and Muḥammad as-Saflārīnī’s (d. 1188/1774) list of his teachers as well as his *ijāzah* to a group of notable scholars of his time. These three authors turned out to have been teachers of ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī and none of them were mentioned as al-Falimbānī’s teachers by modern scholars, including Azra.

Within this category we should also include the works from the ‘ulamā’ of later generations such as Ibn ‘Ābidīn’s (d. 1252/1836) *‘Uqūd al-La’ālī*, containing a list of his own high *isnāds*; ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Kuzbarī’s *Thabat*, a list of his prominent teachers and their *isnāds*; Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ al-Jāwī at-Tarmasī’s (d. 1338/1920) *Kifāyat al-Mustaḥḍ*, on his elevated chains of transmission; ‘Aydārūs al-Ḥabshī’s (d. 1314/1896) *Iqd al-Yawāqūt al-Jawhariyyah* in which he lists numerous *isnāds* that link him to the al-‘Alawiyyah masters (Sayyids), and his *‘Uqūd al-La’āl* on the chains of transmission of the men of *ḥadīth* narration; and more recently ‘Abd Allāh Ghāzī’s (d. 1365/1945) compilation of the *isnāds* of his teacher, Ḥusayn al-Ḥibshī<sup>8</sup> (d. 1330/1911) entitled *Fath al-Qawī*. These, to name a few, are important sources relevant to ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī’s disciples and contemporaries.

Finally one should also highlight the works of the modern Indonesian traditionalist scholar, Shaykh Muḥammad Yāsīn al-Fādānī (1335-1410/1916-90), who was born and lived in Mecca and enjoyed such great respect among traditionalist ‘ulamā’ as an *isnād* specialist that he was referred to as the *isnād*-expert of his time (*musnid al-‘aṣr*), *par excellence*. Some of his admirers even called him the greatest *isnād*-expert of the world (*musnid ad-dunyā*). He published a number of books on *fiqh* (jurisprudence), *uṣūl* (principles), *manṭiq* (logic), *‘ilm al-falak* (astronomy), but was mostly renowned for his significantly numerous books on *isnād*.<sup>9</sup> These include his *al-Iqd al-Farīd*, a gleaning of *isnād* from his longer *Bughyat al-Murīd*; *Tanwīr al-Baṣīrah*, enumerating his *isnāds* for twenty-three renowned *isnād* works of his predecessors; *al-Arba‘ūn al-Buldāniyyah*, enumerating his teachers in forty different cities of the Islamic world; and *Waraqāt*, furnishing his *isnād* for sixteen of *al-ḥadīth al-musalsal* (that is, *ḥadīth* all of whose narrators are in the chain of transmission up to the Prophet SAW and fulfil the conditions of trustworthiness at the time of narration from the viewpoint of sound character and speech); and his *al-awā’il* (i.e. his *isnād* for the first *ḥadīth*



narrated in the major thirteen *ḥadīth* books). These works have proved crucial because they supply a large number of *isnāds* of ‘*ulamā*’ of *Jāwī* origin, including that of ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī himself and his students.

Al-Fādānī is also reported to have written and compiled a large book on *isnād* in four volumes entitled *Bughyat al-Murīd*, but this has never been published and probably is still in its manuscript form as modern traditionalist scholars repeatedly refer to this work and report that it remains unpublished.<sup>10</sup>

Al-Fādānī’s disciples have subsequently made extensive use of his works, extracting particular categories of *isnād* and providing biographical notices of his teachers. For example, the Egyptian Maḥmūd Sa‘īd Mamdūḥ of Cairo in his *I‘lām al-Qāṣī wa ‘d-Dānī*, focuses on some of al-Fādānī’s earliest and high chains of transmission; and in his *Tashnīf al-Asmā’*, he highlights a number of al-Fādānī’s prominent teachers (two hundred and thirty to be precise) and provides biographical reports on those from whom he learnt and received his authorisations; and al-Fādānī’s Indonesian disciple, Muḥammad Mukhtār ad-Dīn al-Falimbānī al-Indūnīsī al-Makkī (d. 1411/1991), in his *Bulūgh al-Amānī*. Apparently this work was written in nine parts as the author himself in his prologue describes the content of each part: the first, on al-Fādānī’s scholarship and list of his notable teachers; the second, on the list of circulated *ṭhabat* (works which compile the list of teachers with whom the compiler studied) and al-Fādānī’s *isnād* on these works; the third, on al-Fādānī’s *isnād* on forty *ḥadīth* books together with his *isnād* for each of the first *ḥadīths* of these books; the fourth, on al-Fādānī’s *isnād* on other *ḥadīth* books that were not included in the previous forty books and his *isnād* on other books of Islamic sciences; the fifth, al-Fādānī’s *isnād* on *al-ḥadīth al-musalsal* (continuous chain of *ḥadīth*); the sixth, al-Fādānī’s *isnād* on forty *ḥadīth* from forty teachers from forty books; the seventh, on al-Fādānī’s *isnād* from forty towns (forty *ḥadīth* from forty teachers from forty cities); the eighth, on the texts of *ijāzāt* that al-Fādānī received written by his teachers as well as their texts of *ijāzāt* written for his four children; the ninth and the last, contains concise biographical notices of some of his teachers.<sup>11</sup>

However, I have only been able to locate the first and third parts, and probably most of the rest have not been published as Yūsuf al-Mar‘ashlī points out that only three parts have been printed.<sup>12</sup>

Despite his esteemed position, some of al-Fādānī’s works have to be treated cautiously – as pointed out by Martin van Bruinessen, due to some obvious mistakes in the dates he provides and that some *isnāds* do not link the teacher-student chain as the latter was born decades or years after the death of the former.<sup>13</sup> This is perhaps due to errors by copyists of his works, possibly among his students or the publisher who unintentionally dropped some of the narrators from the *isnād* causing the gap between the teacher-student link. This is plausible when we see that this kind of mistake only occurs in his publications which have not been critically edited (*muḥaqqaq*).<sup>14</sup>

Apart from his works on *isnād*, al-Fādānī is also reported to have written biographical dictionaries focusing more specifically on *Jāwī ‘ulamā’* probably including two books entitled *Ṭabaqāt ash-Shāfi‘iyyah aṣ-Ṣughrā* and *Ṭabaqāt ash-Shāfi‘iyyah al-Kubrā*. However these works have not been published or located.<sup>15</sup>

It is important to mention that the *isnāds* of the *Jāwī ‘ulamā’*, including those of ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī himself and his students, were not only in circulation among Indonesian traditionalist scholars but also among Arab scholars. For instance, the modern Syrian traditionalist scholar, ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ Abū Ghuddah (d. 1417/1996 in Riyadh) of Aleppo in his *Imdād al-Fattāḥ* reported that he narrated the famous *isnād* work of the Meccan *muḥaddith* ‘Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī (d. 1134/1721) entitled *al-Imdād bi-Ma‘rifat ‘Uluw al-Isnād* from his three Arab teachers: Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Shākir (d. 1377/1957), Aḥmad b. aṣ-Ṣiddīq al-Ghumārī (d. 1380/1960), and Muḥammad at-Tījānī al-Miṣrī (d. 1398/1977). All of his teachers studied this work with ‘Abd as-Sattār b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Bakrī ad-Dihlawī al-Makkī (d. 1355/1936), who in turn received it from Nawawī b. ‘Umar al-Bantanī al-Jāwī al-Makkī (d. 1314/1896), who received it from ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Falimbānī, and so forth up to the author al-Baṣrī.<sup>16</sup>

Thus, analysing such works on *isnād* is crucial to this study as it does not only provide us with information on *‘ulamā’* of *Jāwī* origin in



general but more pertinently on ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī himself, his teachers, his contemporaries and his students.

It is important to point out that the works on *isnād* have received special attention from scholars in the past and present alike. This is due to the importance of the *isnād* itself in Islamic learning, in that it was regarded by Muslim predecessors (*salaf*) as the first and primary condition for relating any aspect of the Islamic traditions, even if it was merely relating one word. Muslim scholars have always considered this as the means by which God Most High fulfilled his promise of preserving the Religion which includes the Qur’ān, the *Sunnah* (Prophetic traditions) and the various Islamic religious and philological sciences that are indispensable for understanding the former two.

The importance of *isnād* as a scholarly authority and means of authentication is reflected in the attention it received from early scholars such as the Iraqi scholar of Kūfah, Sufyān ath-Thawrī (d. 161/778) who said: “The *isnād* is a weapon of the believer. When one does not possess a weapon, then with what will he combat?” The Khorasani scholar, ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak (d. 181/797), once said: “The *isnād* is part of the religion: had it not been for the *isnād*, whoever wished would have said whatever he liked,” and he also said: “The one who seeks matters of his religion without an *isnād* is similar to the one who tries to climb to the roof without a ladder.” A generation later, ash-Shāfi‘ī (d. 204/820) is also reported to have said: “The example of the one who seeks *ḥadīth* without an *isnād* is of a person who gathers wood in the night who carries a bundle of sticks not knowing that there might be a snake in it.”<sup>17</sup> By this he means that such a person would be collecting all types of narrations, the genuine and spurious without knowing it.

Because of this strict methodology, early Muslim scholars examined and analysed each and every statement that came to them, whether it was the statement of the Messenger of God, his companions or anyone else, as well as the reliability of the individual narrators who were named in the *isnād*. They studied the life and character of those who were part of the transmitting chain (*isnād*) in the strictest way possible. Hence, the *Ummah* witnessed the introduction of specialized biographical studies in the ‘science of studying the reporters of *ḥadīth*’ known as ‘*Ilm ar-rijāl*’ (The science of narrators) or ‘*Ilm al-jarḥ wa ‘t-ta’dīl*’ (The

science of impugnment and validation), which was unprecedented and remains unrivalled till today. In these works, information on thousands of narrators: their names, genealogical lineages, lifetimes, their date of birth, date of demise, their character, qualities and circumstances of reception and transmission of *ḥadīth*, as well as their subject, with the aim of determining how trustworthy each narrator was and, hence is, indispensable when distinguishing authentic from suspicious or fabricated traditions.

This history of narrators' criticism was exemplified by such classics as Yahyā b. Ma'īn's (d. 233/847) *at-Tārīkh* and *min Kalām Ibn Ma'īn*; 'Alī b. al-Madīnī's (d. 234/848) *Su'ālāt Ibn al-Madīnī fī 'l-Jarḥ wa 't-Ta'dīl*; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal's (d. 241/855) *al-'Ilal wa-Ma'rīfat ar-Rijāl*; al-Bukhārī's (d. 256/869) *aḍ-Ḍu'afā' aṣ-Ṣaghīr*; *at-Tārīkh al-Kabīr*; and *at-Tārīkh aṣ-Ṣaghīr*; and an-Nasā'ī (d. 303/915) *Kitāb aḍ-Ḍu'afā' wa 'l-Matrūkīn*.

This was followed by Ibn Abī Ḥātim ar-Rāzī (d. 327/938) who was one of the most prominent exponents and practitioners of *ḥadīth* criticism and his works *al-'Ilal* and *Kitāb al-Jarḥ wa 't-Ta'dīl*, comprising mainly evaluations from Abū Zur'ah al-Rāzī (d. 264/878) and his own father, Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 277/890), are principal works in this field. Then comes Ibn Ḥibbān al-Bastī's (d. 354/965) *Kitāb al-Majrūḥīn min 'l-Muḥaddithīn wa 'ḍ-Ḍu'afā' wa 'l-Matrūkīn* and his *ath-Thiqāt*; Ibn 'Adī's (d. 365/975) *al-Kāmil fī Ḍu'afā' ar-Rijāl*; and ad-Dāraquṭnī's (d. 385/995) *aḍ-Ḍu'afā' wa 'l-Matrūkīn*.

Such scholarly works have since continued in a distinguished series of comprehensive compilations during the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries of the Hijri, and books such as Ibn al-Jawzī's (d. 597/1200) *Kitāb aḍ-Ḍu'afā' wa 'l-Matrūkīn*; al-Maqdisī's (d. 600/1203) *al-Kamāl fī Asmā' ar-Rijāl*, al-Mizzī's (d. 742/1341) *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl fī Asmā' ar-Rijāl*, adh-Dhahabī's (d. 748/1348) *Mīzān al-I'tidāl* and *al-Mughnī fī 'ḍ-Ḍu'afā'*, and Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī's (d. 852/1448) *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* and *Lisān al-Mīzān* are all outstanding examples of this amazing phenomenon.

In the later Islamic centuries after the ninth A.H./fifteenth A.D century, less focus, specifically on *'Ilm ar-rijāl* or *'Ilm al-jarḥ wa 't-ta'dīl*, seems to become the norm, especially during the period under study, as no

new works on narrators' criticism, to my knowledge, were ever written. This probably was an indirect result of the end of 'aṣr at-tadwīn (the classical Islamic 'age of establishing classics,' during which the primary works of ḥadīth, jurisprudence and theology were composed). As all the major Islamic religious sciences, especially the Prophetic ḥadīth, were distinguished from unacceptable traditions and recorded in numerous ḥadīth books such as *Musnad* of Imām Aḥmad, the two *Ṣaḥīḥs* of al-Bukhārī and of Muslim, the *Sunan* of Abū Dāwūd, an-Nasā'ī and Ibn Mājah, and *al-Jāmi'* of at-Tirmidhī, the necessity to study the life and character of those who were in the later part of the *isnād* after these is no longer deemed significant.

## The Preservation of Tradition

However, traditional scholars maintained and continued to narrate ḥadīth and transmit any religious work or text with their *isnāds*. This perhaps is not just to have the pride of possessing a continuous *isnād* to the Prophet SAW or to the author of a specific work, but also to prove their authority in transmitting them, as such *isnād* reveals their teachers, especially if they are esteemed scholars of their time, and the works they studied with them and their successive links to their predecessors (*salaḥ*). Probably the most important purpose of narrating works with *isnād* among scholars in the later Islamic centuries is to preserve this tradition itself. In this respect, Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ ash-Shahrazūrī (d. 643/1245) is reported to have said: "the narration of traditions with continuous *isnād* in our time or even the time before us is not meant to prove authenticity of what was narrated as such *isnād* is not free from a shaykh who does not know what he narrates ... rather the purpose is to preserve the *isnād* tradition itself, a favour which God had bestowed upon this *Ummah*."<sup>18</sup>

Another branch of knowledge which also developed simultaneously in connection with the study of ḥadīth was the compilation of genealogies of *isnād* of individual scholars. Many scholars compiled such *isnāds* in separate works. In the early period of Islam the 'ulamā' designated the term *al-Mashyakhah* or *al-Mashikhah* (pl. *al-Mashikhāt*) on the section of works where the *muḥaddith* (scholar of ḥadīth) would compile the list of his teachers and his narrations from them. Later on, when the names of



teachers were extracted from the original work to form a separate work which were rearranged alphabetically (*murattab* ‘*alā ḥurūf al-mu‘jam*), the term *al-Mu‘jam* (pl. *al-Ma‘ājim*), that is dictionary became more common. At the same time among the Muslims of al-Andalus (Islamic Spain) and the Maghrib, the term *al-Barnāmij* (pl. *al-Barāmij*) was used for these works. In the Eastern Islamic world a new terminology was later used to describe such works, namely *ath-Thabat* (pl. *al-Athbāt*), while in the western parts of the Islamic world the name *al-Fahras* or *al-Fahrasah* (pl. *al-Fahāris* or *al-Fahrasāt*) had been used.<sup>19</sup>

As a result of the ‘*ulamā*’s keen interest in *isnād* and their accomplishment in preserving this tradition, hundreds of such works have been written and handed down for generations. This tradition continues up to the present day especially among modern traditionalist scholars. They still record their names and their teachers in addition to the existing *isnād* and so forth to the compiler or author of a particular *thabat* or other works on Islamic religious sciences, especially that of the *ḥadīth* works such as the six-canonical books. They usually give a title to their new work, which in many cases rhymes with the name of the compiler or the description of the contents. It is on such works that the ‘*ulamā*’ often grant a written *ijāzah* to their disciples or upon request to their peers.

The range of titles given to the works of *isnād* by the authors do not merely concern rhymed words but also in most cases indicate the contents of their works. This can be observed in numerous titles such as al-Kuzbarī’s *Intikhāb al-‘Awālī wa ‘sh-Shuyūkh al-Akhyār min Fahāris Shaykhinā al-Imām al-Musnid al-‘Aṭṭār*. This is not just simply to make the word *al-Akhyār* rhyme with *al-‘Aṭṭār* but also to tell us that this work is a meticulous selection of the highly ranked and the excellent teachers of al-‘Aṭṭār; Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī’s *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, indicates that the author versifies over one thousand lines of rhymed prose containing the names of his teachers either by way of direct attendance of their teaching sessions (*samā’*), or by way of correspondence (*murāsalah* or *mukātabah*), and their teachers. For example, al-Baṣrī’s *al-Imdād bi-Ma‘rifat ‘Uluw al-Isnād*, Ibn al-Mayyit’s (d. 1140/1727) *al-Jawāhir al-Ghawālī fī Bayān al-Asānīd al-‘Awālī*, and al-Ḥabshī’s *‘Uqūd al-La’āl fī Asānīd ar-Rijāl* do not only concern internal rhyming of the words *al-Imdād* with *al-Isnād*,

*al-Ghawālī* with *al-‘Awālī*, and *al-La‘āl* with *ar-Rijāl*, but significantly tell us that the contents of such *thabats* are the highly narrated *isnāds* that the authors have accumulated.

Among the benefits of knowing a number of *thabat* works and numerous *isnāds* of a scholar is that from them we can learn his different *ṭuruq* (routes) of acquiring a particular *ḥadīth* or work, his teachers, and their works which might not be found listed elsewhere. It is also from these *thabat* works that we can learn whether he studied and acquired a particular work from his teacher by way of reading with him (*qirā‘ah*), one of the means of receiving traditions, whereby the student would read out his teacher’s tradition back to him for verification, or by way of direct attendance of their teaching sessions (*samā‘*), in which the student would hear the tradition and subsequently learn it by heart or from a book, or by way of authorisation (*ijāzah*), and whether this authorisation is specific (*ijāzah khāṣṣah*) or general (*ijāzah ‘āmmah*).<sup>20</sup>

With the evolution of *isnād* tradition from the early centuries several terminologies consequently developed, such as the term ‘*al-isnād al-‘ālī*,’ which means that the *ḥadīth* is narrated with a short chain of transmission (as opposed to ‘*al-isnād an-nāzil*,’ i.e. narrated with a longer chain of transmission) began to make their appearance. This does not mean the having abbreviated *isnād* but rather that the last narrator had made the effort to meet with senior scholars from the earlier generations. In their *ḥadīth* studies, the *muḥaddithūn* and the ‘*ulamā*’ naturally preferred what these scholars called the ‘high *isnāds*’ or the ‘superior *isnāds*’ (‘*uluw al-isnād* or *al-isnād al-‘ālī*’) to what was called *al-isnād an-nāzil* (lesser *isnāds*).

In this respect, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855) said: “Seeking *al-isnād al-‘ālī* is the way of the predecessors [*as-salaf*]”; and Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ ash-Shahrazūrī is reported to have said: “To seek the superiority of *isnād* is *sunnah* [to follow the trodden path], hence travel to attain it is recommended.”<sup>21</sup>

The benefit of possessing such ‘*uluw*’ is that it distances the *isnād* from defect and flaw as every single narrator in the chain is prone to make mistakes intentionally or unintentionally, thus, fewer narrators result in a lesser probability of defect and vice versa. The ‘*uluw*’ in *ḥadīth* narration which the ‘*ulamā*’ seek is divided into five parts: the first, closeness

in time to the Prophet SAW by way of a clean (*naẓīf*) and not a weak (*ḍaʿīf*) *isnād*, and this is the loftiest kind of *ʿuluw*. On this, Muḥammad b. Aslam aṭ-Ṭūsī az-Zāhid (d. 242/856) commented: “the closeness of *isnād* is closeness to God.” The second, closeness to a particular reliable scholar of *ḥadīth*, regardless of the number of intermediaries to the Prophet SAW; the third, *ʿuluw* in regard to narration of the two books of al-Bukhārī and Muslim (*aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥayn*) or either one of them, or other known reliable books of *ḥadīth*; the fourth, *ʿuluw* achieved from the late demise of a narrator, i.e. in addition to narrating from his teacher a disciple can narrate directly from his teacher’s teacher if the latter lived long and the disciple met him; and the fifth, *ʿuluw*, obtained from early audience of a narrator, i.e. a student who attended sessions with a teacher at a very young age will transcend his contemporaries on his *isnād*.<sup>22</sup>

Though *al-isnād al-ʿālī* in comparison to *al-isnād an-nāzil* is highly sought after, especially by the *muḥaddithūn*, because of the closeness to the Prophet SAW and as a precautionary measure against defects. Some scholars also seek after *al-isnād an-nāzil*, particularly among the *Ṣūfīs*. To them the quest for *al-isnād an-nāzil* is equally important to *al-isnād al-ʿālī* as such *isnād* includes more scholars or spiritual masters in its chain, hence, anticipating more *barakah* (blessing) from these scholars.<sup>23</sup>

Another reason for giving preference to *al-isnād an-nāzil* over *al-isnād al-ʿālī* is that such *isnād* contains *thiqah* (trustworthy) narrators while on the contrary the latter contains *ḍaʿīf* (weak) narrators. In this connection, the *ḥadīth* Master Shams ad-Dīn Ibn Nāṣir ad-Dīn ad-Dimashqī (d. 842/1438) relates in his rhyming poem “*idhā aḥbabta takhrīj al-ʿawālī, ʿan ʿr-rāwīna ḥaqqiq mā aqūlu/muzūlun ʿan thiqātihi mu ʿuluwun, ʿuluwun ʿan ḍiʿāfihi mu muzūlu*” (if you wish to extract the supreme *isnād* from the narrators, ascertain what I say, *muzūl* from trustworthy narrators is *ʿuluw*, and *ʿuluw* from weak narrators is *muzūl*).<sup>24</sup>

Occasionally preference is also given to *al-isnād an-nāzil* because of the *laṭāfah* (delicateness) it sometimes possess. For instance, on al-Fādānī’s *isnād* for *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, the famous collection of authentic *ḥadīth*, he transmitted this work highly from ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān b. ʿUbayd Allāh as-Saqqāf, who transmitted it from ʿAydārūs b. ʿUmar al-Ḥabshī, who transmitted it [by way of general *ijāzah*]<sup>25</sup> from ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān



b. Sulaymān al-Ahdal, who also transmitted it by way of general *ijāzah* from Muḥammad b. Sinnah al-Fullānī, who transmitted it from Aḥmad al-‘Ajl, and so forth up to al-Bukhārī himself. In this case there are eleven intermediaries between al-Fādānī and al-Bukhārī.

At the same time he also transmitted this work with *al-isnād an-nāzil* from his *Jāwī* teacher Jam‘ān b. Sāmūn al-Jāwī at-Tanqarānī (d. 1381/1962), who transmitted it from Nawawī b. ‘Umar al-Jāwī al-Bantanī, who in turn transmitted it from his teacher al-‘Allāmah ash-Shaykh ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd al-Jalīl al-Jāwī al-Falimbānī, who transmitted it from ‘Āqib b. Ḥasan ad-Dīn al-Jāwī al-Falimbānī al-Madanī, who transmitted it from al-‘Ārif Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān al-Madanī, who transmitted it from Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī al-Madanī, who transmitted it from Muḥammad Sa‘īd b. Muḥammad Sunbul al-Ḥanafī, who transmitted it from Aḥmad an-Nakhlī al-Makkī, who transmitted it from Aḥmad al-Qushāshī al-Madanī, and so forth to al-Bukhārī. Here we have sixteen intermediaries between al-Fādānī and al-Bukhārī. In this case there are at least three prominent *Ṣūfī* shaykhs within the *isnād*. This is also true for al-Fādānī’s *isnād* of *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, Muslim’s collection of authentic *ḥadīth*, which he transmitted both with *al-isnād al-‘ālī* and *al-isnād an-nāzil* having fourteen and nineteen intermediaries between him and Muslim respectively.<sup>26</sup>

Though al-Fādānī begins with his *al-isnād al-‘ālī* for both works, he still includes his *al-isnād an-nāzil* successively because of its special nature. The names in this *isnād* from Jam‘ān up to ‘Āqib are all *Jāwī ‘ulamā’*, so including al-Fādānī himself, five generations of *Jāwī* scholars. This apparently demonstrates his sense of pride in narrating with *al-isnād an-nāzil* as it indicates that the *Jāwī ‘ulamā’* are also on par with their Arab peers in terms of Islamic erudition, especially in *ḥadīth* transmission. In addition, all four *Jāwī* scholars included in this *isnād* were described as *al-mu‘ammar* (long-lived).<sup>27</sup> Also, as indicated above, his *al-isnād an-nāzil* includes several *Ṣūfī* shaykhs, which adds uniqueness to such *isnād*. ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī himself appears as a prominent link in al-Fādānī’s *isnād*.

## Manuscript Catalogues and Additional Sources

Another category of sources consulted for this study consists of catalogues of Arabic and Oriental manuscripts, as they often contain important information on those '*ulamā*' who have written books. This is particularly very useful in tracing and tracking down the writings of 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī, especially those that have never been consulted by contemporary scholars in their studies. These titles will be discussed further in the chapter on al-Falimbānī's writings.

Works of contemporaneous '*ulamā*' to 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī have also been included as a supplementary category of sources. These literatures have proved beneficial as they provide additional information on the '*ulamā*' and the religious milieu, socio-moral characteristics of his period, as well as the teacher-student nexus.

Last but not least, the writings of contemporary scholars are also important for this study. These comprise literatures written both in Malay and English dealing with aspects relevant to the topic of study and will be discussed further in the literature review.

This study – to my knowledge – is the first to have comprehensively utilised the widest possible range of sources available, encompassing manuscripts, *Jāwī* books, Arabic biographical dictionaries and other literatures, as well as studies in Malay and English that are relevant to al-Falimbānī.

## The Connections Between the Malay Archipelago and the Arab World

The coming of Islam to the Malay Archipelago has long attracted the attention of modern scholars. Though it is not precisely known when Islam was first introduced to the Archipelago, it is generally accepted among historians that Islam began to flourish in the Archipelago from the thirteenth to eighteenth centuries. This is based on several types of evidence; a report by the Venetian traveller Marco Polo (1254-1324) who observed that Perlak (Northern Sumatra) was already a Muslim



kingdom when he visited the region on his way home from China in 1292; the discovery of the gravestone of Sulṭān al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ (dated 696/1297), identified him as the first Muslim ruler of Samudra (situated on the northern coast of Sumatra); and finally, Ibn Battuta (1304-1377) a Moroccan traveller, who during his eastern travels from 1325 to 1354, observed Islamic centres were yet surrounded by unconverted kingdoms and found that the ruler of Samudra was a follower of the Shāfi‘ī School of Islamic jurisprudence.<sup>28</sup>

However, this perception and observation can still be contested. The hypothesis based on Marco Polo’s observation does not necessarily prove that Islam only existed or penetrated in the thirteenth century as it is very likely that it had arrived at least a century or centuries earlier. All that his evidence can prove is that an Islamic kingdom was already established before his arrival in the region in 1292. At the same time, the conjectures that the gravestone was of ‘the first Muslim ruler’ can be modified. The epitaph on the gravestone only reads as follows: “this is the grave of him to whom God may grant mercy and forgiveness, the pious, the counsel for righteousness, the noble in rank and ancestry, the magnanimous, the devout in worship, the conqueror, known as Sulṭān [al-]Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ.”<sup>29</sup> This by itself does not confirm that he was the first; only that he is the *first known* Muslim ruler.

From a different perspective, the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* collection of authentic *ḥadīths*, the most famous of the six canonical books on the Prophetic Traditions, according to Yāsīn al-Fādānī was first brought and introduced to the Island of Java in 671/1272 by Sharīf Hidāyat Allāh b. Aḥmad Jalāl Shāh b. ‘Abd Allāh Khān who migrated and died in Java and was later buried at Gunung Jati in Cirebon. He was reported to have brought the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* from the *al-Ḥaramayn* (the two sanctuaries, Mecca and Medina).<sup>30</sup> Whereas in the Island of Sumatra, probably in Palembang, the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, according to al-Fādānī, was only introduced in 891/1486 by Sulṭān Maṣṣūr b. Kiyai Gading, the progenitor of the Palembang rulers.<sup>31</sup>

This strongly implies that Islam must have been established in some parts of the Archipelago, namely Java, prior to these dates as there were already devout Muslims who strived to study the basics of the new religion to an extent that they were already at a stage qualified to acquire

advanced knowledge. It can also be observed that what al-Fādānī reports shows that Islam had already circulated in the Archipelago before the Western traveller's observation was recorded.

Furthermore, according to the modern Arab historian, Muḥammad al-ʿAydārūs, the western hypothesis on the coming of Islam to Southeast Asia from the thirteenth to eighteenth centuries suffers several weaknesses. It is known from the works of Islamic historians such as Muḥammad b. Jarīr aṭ-Ṭabarī's (d. 310/923) *Tārīkh aṭ-Ṭabarī* and al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī's (d. 463/1070) *Tārīkh Baghdād* that some of the *Ashrāf* (nobles, referring commonly to the descendents of The Prophet SAW) migrated from al-Baṣrah to Medina thence to Hadramawt. For instance, Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā better known as al-Muhājir (d. 345/956), the great great grandson of Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, grandson of The Prophet SAW, migrated from al-Baṣrah to Medina in 317/929. After staying for a year, he went to Mecca for the pilgrimage and thence migrated to Hadramawt in 318/930. His first descendent born in Hadramawt was his grandson ʿAlawī b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-Muhājir; hence the name al-ʿAlawiyyūn or Bā-ʿAlawī was ascribed to the Sayyids of Hadramawt.<sup>32</sup>

It was his descendents, the al-ʿAlawiyyūn according to al-ʿAydārūs, who later migrated to the Indian coasts and settled there as early as the tenth century. Thus, for instance, the savant (*al-ʿālim*) ash-Sharīf ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Bā-Faqīh migrated to Cannanore, Southern India and was later married to the daughter of the local minister ʿAbd al-Wahhāb who appointed him as his assistant until his death. Another renowned scholar, ash-Sharīf Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAydārūs migrated to Ahmadabad and Surat, a port city in the Indian state of Gujarat, upon the request of his grandfather ash-Sharīf Shaykh b. ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAydārūs (d. 379/990), and assumed his grandfather's position until he died in Surat in 393/1003.<sup>33</sup>

This migration is evident in Arabic biographical dictionaries such as ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Ḥasanī's *al-Iʿlām bi-man fī Tārīkh al-Hind min ʿl-Aʿlām*.<sup>34</sup> Though certain Arab family identities dissolved in their adopted community, other Arab Diaspora remained well-known in India and Southeast Asia and retained their Arabic ancestries to the present such as the family of al-Ḥaddād, al-ʿAṭṭās, al-Ḥabshī, al-ʿAydārūs, as-Saqqāf, al-Jufrī, al-Ḥāmid, al-Mahdalī, ash-Shāṭirī, al-Kāf, al-Bār, etc.

Another reason for confusion among Western scholars is their observation that the propagators of Islam in the Archipelago seemingly arrived from India. They did not comprehend that in the olden days it was extremely difficult if not impossible, for the sailing vessels to sail directly from Hadramawt to the Archipelago without stopping at the coastal cities of India thence to Southeast Asia. If we observe the Muslims in India they are the adherents of the Ḥanafī school of jurisprudence, while the Muslims of Southeast Asia are adherents to the Shāfi‘iyyah school, the *madhhab* of the *Ashrāf* of Hadramawt.<sup>35</sup> This seems to indicate strong evidence that the *Ashrāf*, whether those who had settled in India or came from Hadramawt through the ports of India, were in fact the early propagators of Islam in the Archipelago. Hence, the generally accepted conjecture that Islam only flourished in the Archipelago from the thirteenth to eighteenth centuries still leaves room for further discussion and should be tackled from a new perspective that needs to be taken seriously.

Similarly, as it was in the case of the introduction of Islam, it is also not clear as to when contacts between the Malay Archipelago and the Arab countries of Islam were first established. Apparently, people from the Archipelago did not merely receive Islam but also reacted to it and attempted to search out every aspect of its teachings for themselves. They went to the central lands of Islam and then returned to their homeland to teach their own people. This is apparent from the travels of some known figures in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries such as Ḥamzah al-Fanṣūrī, though his dates of travel are unknown and perhaps it was during the second half of the sixteenth century. He was reported to have visited Barus (northwestern coast of Sumatra), Kedah, Pahang, Bantam and Kudus in Java, Siam, Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem and Baghdad. Shams ad-Dīn as-Sumatrānī, who from his eloquent Arabic works we can conclude that probably he too must have also travelled to centres of traditional Islamic learning, especially to *al-Ḥaramayn*; and later ‘Abd ar-Ra’ūf as-Sinkīlī who spent about nineteen years studying in ad-Dawḥah (Doha, Qatar), al-Mokha (Mocha), Zabīd, Bayt al-Faqīh (all three cities in Yemen), Mecca, Medina and Jeddah probably from 1052/1642 until 1072/1661 when he finally returned to Aceh.<sup>36</sup>

Though it was not until the late sixteenth century that such travellers played important roles in the great blossoming of Islamic learning in



the port city of Aceh, it is more than likely that there were many more unrecorded travels and unknown scholars who went far afield in the quest for a deeper knowledge of the traditions of Islam.

Furthermore, there is always the pilgrimage (*ḥajj*) which constitutes the fifth of the five pillars of Islam that form the framework of Islamic life. All Muslims who are physically and financially able have an obligation to perform the *ḥajj* at least once in a lifetime. Though again, there is no record or evidence as to when, how or who was the first to embark from the Archipelago to perform the *ḥajj*. Certainly this religious obligation must have inspired some, if not many to journey to the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, hence establishing contacts between the Malay Archipelago and these Islamic centres.

The continuous trade between the Mughal Empire which ruled most of the Indian subcontinent from the early sixteenth to the mid nineteenth centuries, and countries of Islamic West Asia, the Malay Archipelago and China, without doubt must have assisted and contributed to the development of Islam, as the trade routes were the arteries for the expanding Muslim community in the Archipelago. Though it remains a question and mere conjecture whether the Arabs settled to form resident trading communities in the Archipelago as they did elsewhere, it is probable that they did settle down in at least some of the trading ports of Southeast Asia. Indeed, if we take into account that the Arab colonies were already firmly established in Chinese ports, particularly Canton (Khan-fu), by the middle of the eight century and by the middle of the ninth when full descriptions of them can be observed from Arabic sources, it is of tolerable certainty that they must have also established their commercial settlements on some of the islands of the Archipelago.<sup>37</sup>

Unfortunately the history of Islam in the Archipelago in the early centuries is difficult to study due to the serious shortage of primary sources, while for the later periods not all materials have been examined. Nevertheless, the outlines of the networks connecting '*ulamā*' in the Ḥijāz with Southeast Asia in the seventeenth century were first sketched by Anthony H. Johns in a number of studies.<sup>38</sup>

Without doubt there is a serious shortage of primary sources originating from the Archipelago itself for the study of Islam in this region. If we analyse from a different perspective, none of the well

surviving primary sources from the Arab regions or even India for the early history of Islam have ever provided us with any accounts related to the travels or contacts of *Jāwī* scholars or students with these centres to the west of the Archipelago. As Johns points out, it was not until the late sixteenth century that great *Jāwī* travellers contributing to the spread of Islamic teachings, especially in the port city of Aceh, can be observed. Hence, it is highly plausible if we conclude that from the early stage of the rise of Islam up to the fifteenth century, the people from the Archipelago had to rely heavily on Arab and Indian Muslim travellers to learn every aspect of the Islamic teachings. This is apparent as there is no such records of *Jāwī* student travels either from the Archipelago itself or from any Islamic kingdom in India or in any of the Islamic centres of the Arab world, especially the *al-Ḥaramayn*, to prove early scholarship of *Jāwī* students.

Furthermore, the mention of *Jāwī* students – known in the Arab world as ‘*Aṣḥāb al-Jāwiyyīn*’ (fellow *Jāwī* students) or ‘*Jamā‘at min ‘l-Jāwiyyīn*’ (community of *Jāwī* students) as well as their place of origin, ‘*Bilād al-Jāwah*’ (the Malay world) in Arabic sources and works – only began to make their appearance in the early seventeenth century.<sup>39</sup> The extensive contacts between *Jāwī* students and their teachers in the Arab world, particularly *al-Ḥaramayn* during this time is probably best reflected in several works of the Medinian scholar, Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (1025-1101/1616-90), who not only mentioned the *Jāwī* community and *Bilād al-Jāwah* in his writings, but also paid special attention to the religious issues arising back in the Archipelago. He is also reported to have written a treatise specifically for his *Jāwī* students entitled *al-Jawābāt al-Gharāwiyyah ‘an ‘l-Masā’il al-Jāwiyyah al-Jahriyyah*.<sup>40</sup> Another renowned Meccan scholar who was also a *qāḍī* (judge) of the holy city, Tāj ad-Dīn b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm (d. 1066/1655), better known as Ibn Ya‘qūb, also wrote a work in order to meet the religious needs of his *Jāwī* students. His work entitled *al-Jāddat al-Qawīmah ilā Taḥqīq Mas’alat al-Wujūd wa-Ta’alluq al-Qudrat al-Qadīmah fī ‘l-Jawāb ‘an ‘l-As’ilat al-Wāridah min Jāwah*, was probably to clarify the concept of *waḥdat al-wujūd* (Oneness of Being) that has been misconceived and debated in the Archipelago.<sup>41</sup> Azra asserts that this work was probably written upon the request of ‘Abd ar-Ra’ūf al-Jāwī as-Sinkīlī as Ibn

Ya‘qūb was included among the scholars who came in contact with him in Mecca.<sup>42</sup>

Later in the eighteenth century, a leading *al-Ḥaramayn* scholar who was a *Ṣūfī* and the *muftī* of Medina, Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī (1127-94/1715-80) also wrote a treatise entitled *al-Durrat al-Bahiyyah fī Jawāb al-As’ilat al-Jāwīyah*, specifically to provide answers to questions posed by his *Jāwī* students.<sup>43</sup> Among his *Jāwī* students, as we will see later was ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī himself. Although it is doubtful whether these three works are still available today unfortunately, as I have found no trace of them despite my attempts. Nevertheless, the fact that at least three works were devoted to questions by *Jāwī* students by leading ‘ulamā’ of *al-Ḥaramayn* in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries substantiate the hypothesis that the extensive contacts and the intense intellectual discourse between *Jāwī* students and scholars of the centres of traditional Islamic learning were only established and intensified during this period.

In an article titled “Friends in grace: Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī and ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf al-Singkeli,”<sup>44</sup> Johns points out that it was not until the late sixteenth century that individual names such as Ḥamzah al-Fanṣūrī and Shams ad-Dīn as-Sumatrānī, who played important roles in the great blossoming of Islamic learning in the port city of Aceh, can be observed. Despite being well known, there is yet another somewhat later figure in the seventeenth century, ‘Abd ar-Ra’ūf as-Sinkīlī (1024-1105/1615-1693), who is in a much better position historically as it is possible to document his relationship with two of his teachers in Medina. Not only their names: Aḥmad al-Qushāshī (d. 1071/1660) and the Kurdish born Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (d. 1101/1690) who later resided and died in Medina, are also known as well as something of their works and personalities.

Of them, as Johns argues, the greater, although the lesser known, was Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, a key figure in the network of teachers in the seventeenth century as well as an authority on the earlier tradition of Ibn al-‘Arabī (562-638/1165-1240). At the request of his *Jāwī* student, probably ‘Abd ar-Ra’ūf as-Sinkīlī himself, Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī wrote one of his most important single works, a commentary entitled *Ithāf adh-Dhakī* on *at-Tuḥfat al-Mursalāh* by an Indian author, Muḥammad b. Faḍl Allāh al-Hindī al-Burhānpūrī (d. 1029/1620).<sup>45</sup>



Though Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī is a neglected author, as Johns emphasized, he is of real importance for the understanding of Islam's taking root in Southeast Asia, and was the prime source of the intellectual life of Aceh in the seventeenth century. The influence of his personality, his learning and his special kind of piety is evident in his pupil and later colleague 'Abd ar-Ra'ūf as-Sinkīlī. In fact, this picture of master and pupil has much wider implications; it is, after all, the first recorded example of such relationship between a *Jāwī* scholar – in this case an Achenese – and a West Asian Muslim scholar. Furthermore, it is the study of the work and thought of 'Abd ar-Ra'ūf as-Sinkīlī which has drawn attention to Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī as one of the leading scholars of his age, and perhaps the great expositor of the *Ṣūfī* school of Ibn al-ʿArabī.

Of equal significance is the fact that Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī wrote one of his most important works, the *Ithāf adh-Dhakī*, with a direct concern for the religious problems in Aceh, and out of a concern for one particular problem, addressing himself to the Muslim world as a whole. Another interesting fact is the example of a religious treatise (*at-Tuhfat al-Mursalah*) written in Arabic in India and sent to Aceh, becoming known in the Arabic centres of Islamic learning because of its popularity in Aceh and was used in the bitter quarrel between Nūr ad-Dīn ar-Rānīrī and the follower of Shams ad-Dīn as-Sumaṭrānī; the situation that prompted Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī to write his commentary on it.

Let it be stressed, as Johns correctly points out, that in Islamic learning the relation between teacher and student is crucial. This is evident in this study as the influence of both Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī and his *Jāwī* student, 'Abd ar-Ra'ūf as-Sinkīlī can clearly be seen in the works of 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī himself.

In another article, "Islam in the Malay World: an exploratory survey with some reference to Quranic Exegesis," Johns mentioned another *Jāwī* pundit in the seventeenth century from Minangkabau who copied a commentary by Sa'īd b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Farghānī Sa'd ad-Dīn (d. 699/1299), entitled *Muntahā al-Madārik* on the Egyptian mystic 'Umar b. 'Alī Ibn al-Fārid's (576-632/1181-1235) celebrated poem *at-Tā'iyyat al-Kubrā*.<sup>46</sup> This commentary was copied at Medina on 6 Jumādā al-Ūlā 1096/10 April 1685 by Muḥammad Jamāl ad-Dīn b. Shihāb ad-Dīn al-Jāwī as-Sumpudānawī ash-Shaṭṭarī. 'As-Sumpudānawī'

probably come from the place name Sumpu(r)danau, an inland staging post on the main trading route from the West coast of Sumatra to the high plateau. Johns suggests that the Minangkabau Jamāl ad-Dīn might have been one of Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī's *Jāwī* students, as Muṣṭafā b. Faṭḥ Allāh al-Ḥamawī (d. 1124/11712) relates in his *Fawā'id al-Irtihāl* (Benefits of Travel) when he met Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī in 1085/1675 that *Jāwī* students attended classes given by his teacher. Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī on expounding one of his works, also quotes from *at-Tā'iyyat al-Kubrā*.<sup>47</sup>

This suggestion becomes more probable if we take into account the fact that Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī had numerous students including those from the Archipelago (*Aṣḥāb al-Jāwiyyīn*), as al-Kattānī points out that practically all seekers after 'ilm during his time in *al-Ḥaramayn* were his students, and al-Murādī eulogised him by saying that he was "a mountain among the mountains of 'ilm (knowledge), a sea among the seas of 'irfān (gnosticism)."<sup>48</sup> Therefore, it is more than likely that Jamāl ad-Dīn was in fact one of Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī's numerous students as both teacher and student would have met in Medina where he resided until his death in 1101/1690.

John's article does not only show this connection between the 'ulamā' of the Archipelago and those of Arabia, but also explicitly demonstrates the impact of Indian politics and the influence of Indian scholars on the Archipelago. This is best observed in the seventeenth century in the relation of 'Abd ar-Ra'ūf as-Sinkīlī who lived in Mecca and studied successively under the *khalīfah* of the Shaṭṭāriyyah *Ṣūfī* Order, Aḥmad al-Qushāshī, and later under his successor, Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī. Both belonged to a body of mystics which was strongly subject to Indian influence, as Aḥmad al-Qushāshī and his teacher, Aḥmad b. 'Alī ash-Shinnāwī (d. 1028/1619) of Egypt were both students of an Indian *Ṣūfī* teacher, Ṣibghat Allāh b. Rūḥ Allāh b. Jamāl Allāh al-Barwajī (d. 1015/1606), who initiated the latter into the Shaṭṭāriyyah order. Ṣibghat Allāh himself was a student of the leading Indian Shaṭṭāriyyah master, Wajīh ad-Dīn Aḥmad b. Naṣr Allāh al-'Alawī al-Gujarātī (902-997/1496-1589), who in turn was the student of the famous Indian Shaṭṭāriyyah shaykh, Abū al-Mu'ayyad Muḥammad Ghawth al-Hindī (d. 970/1563).<sup>49</sup> It is worth mentioning that by the end of the sixteenth century, the Shaṭṭāriyyah order was firmly established in India, namely in Burhanpur,



Bengal and Gujarat. From the latter, it spread into Mecca and Medina, and later to the Malay Archipelago.<sup>50</sup>

Johns asserts that it was from Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī that ‘Abd ar-Ra’ūf as-Sinkīlī later received a permit (*ijāzah*) to found a branch of the order in Aceh. However, from his *isnād* on the *silsilat aṭ-ṭarīqah ash-Shaṭṭāriyyah* and *al-Qādiriyyah*, it is clear that he took both the Shaṭṭāriyyah and Qādiriyyah orders directly from Aḥmad al-Qushāshī and not from Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī.<sup>51</sup> Though the latter was a teacher of ‘Abd ar-Ra’ūf as-Sinkīlī, Azra points out that he was more likely to be his intellectual teacher, while Aḥmad al-Qushāshī was his spiritual and mystical master, and as a sign of his completion of studying the mystical way with his teacher, he appointed him as his *khalīfah*.<sup>52</sup>

The influence of Indian scholars on the Malay Archipelago is also evident through the earlier mentioned Indian Muḥammad b. Faḍl Allāh al-Burhānpūrī, author of *at-Tuḥfat al-Mursalah*, indicating the formal pattern of mystical teaching spread through the Malay Archipelago. Muḥammad al-Burhānpūrī himself had strong connections with the ‘ulamā’ of *al-Ḥaramayn* where he is reported to have sojourned and studied for twelve years, especially with the *ḥadīth* scholar, Shaykh ‘Alī b. Ḥusām ad-Dīn al-Hindī al-Makkī (d. after 952/1545). He later returned to Ahmadabad, India, where he got married and studied with the leading Indian Shaṭṭāriyyah master, Wajīh ad-Dīn al-Gujarātī for another twelve years. He then took up residence in Burhanpur, central India, where he taught and later died in 1029/1620. Without doubt, Muḥammad al-Burhānpūrī was one of the eminent Indian scholars who professed and propagated the *Ṣūfī* doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd*. In Burhanpur, he wrote one of his most important single works, *at-Tuḥfat al-Mursalah ilā ‘n-Nabī*, completed in 999/1590, which later found its way to the Malay Archipelago.<sup>53</sup>

It was also during the seventeenth century that the strains and stresses between orthodoxy and heterodoxy in the Mughal Empire found an echo in Aceh. The Mughal emperor Jalāl ad-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar (1556-1605) was not an orthodox Muslim. Not only did he tolerate religions other than Islam, but he also encouraged debate on philosophical and religious issues which led him to conclude that no single religion could claim the monopoly of truth; this inspired him to create his own

religious cult, *ad-Dīn al-Ilāhī* or the ‘Divine Faith.’ This *ad-Dīn al-Ilāhī* syncretised the best elements of the religions of his empire, primarily Hinduism and Islam; elements were also taken from Christianity, Jainism and Zoroastrianism, whereby he attempted to reconcile the differences that divided his subjects. Various Muslim scholars responded by declaring this to be blasphemy which led to a certain tension between orthodox circles and the court. Under Akbar’s rule, the court abolished the *jizyah* (tax on non-Muslims partly comparable with *zakāh* for Muslims) and abandoned use of the Muslim lunar calendar in favor of a solar calendar. His son, Nūr ad-Dīn Sālīm Jahangir, who succeeded him and ruled the empire from 1605 to 1627, was a religious moderate. His mother being Hindu and his father setting up an independent faith-of-the-court (*ad-Dīn al-Ilāhī*), he kept religious moderation as a center piece of state policy. It was these years that saw the fullest development of heterodox mysticism in Aceh.<sup>54</sup>

The close contact with Indian scholars and the influence of al-Burhānpūrī’s *at-Tuhfat* clearly indicate the dependence of *Jāwī Śūfīs* in their speculation on Indian Muslim *Śūfīs*, hence making it probable, as Johns suggests, that scholars from the Malay Archipelago travelled not only to centres of Islamic learning in the Arab world, but also to India in their search for religious knowledge.<sup>55</sup> In fact, I have found evidence in a manuscript of one of ‘Abd ar-Ra’ūf as-Sinkīlī’s works where he clearly states that he studied in India with its scholars. Among them he mentions Shaykh Badr ad-Dīn al-Lāhūrī and Shaykh ‘Abd Allāh [b. Sa’d Allāh al-Ḥanafī] al-Lāhūrī (985-1083/1577-1672).<sup>56</sup> He says: “... *ini jumlah segala mashayikh yang telah mengambil faedah fakir ini daripada mereka itu dalam negeri Arab ... maka beroleh pula fakir ini mengambil faedah dalam antara segala manusia itu daripada dua orang ‘ulamā’, dalam negeri Hindi, yang bernama Shaykh Badr ad-Dīn [al-] Lāhūrī dan Shaykh ‘Abd Allāh [al-] Lāhūrī.*”<sup>57</sup>

The strong scholarly connections between the ‘*ulamā*’ of Arabia and the *Jāwī* community in the seventeenth century, as mentioned earlier, is not only obvious from the attention they received during their sojourn in *al-Ḥaramayn*, particularly from Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, but this also continues when these students eventually completed their studies and travelled back to their homeland. The continued attention, especially to religious

issues arising back in the Archipelago, can be seen clearly reflected in an untitled treatise by Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī which begins: “*faqad warada su’āl min ba’d Jazā’ir Jāwah Sanat 1089 Hijriyah*,” written in response to questions posed and sent to him from the Archipelago in 1089/1678.<sup>58</sup> I am able to confirm that this treatise is entitled *al-Maslak al-Jalī fī Ḥukm Shaṭḥ al-Walī* from a preface by ‘Abd al-Ghanī an-Nābulusī (d. 1143/1731) to a manuscript copy of this work. He states that *al-Maslak al-Jalī* was written by Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī in response to a question posed to him from *Jāwah* and that an-Nābulusī himself later wrote an exposition to address the same issue entitled *Sharḥ Risālat al-Maslak al-Jalī fī Ḥukm Shaṭḥ al-Walī* which an-Nābulusī completed on Friday, 13 Sha‘bān 1139/5 April 1727.<sup>59</sup> In this regard he says “... wajadtu risālah ismuhā *al-Maslak al-Jalī fī Ḥukm Shaṭḥ al-Walī* li ‘sh-Shaykh al-Imām al-‘Allāmah al-‘Umdah al-Muḥaqqiq al-Mudaqqiq al-Fahhāmah al-Munlā Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī al-Madanī ... ajāba bi-hā ‘an su’āl warada ‘alayhi min ba’d Jazā’ir Jāwah min aqsā Bilād al-Hind fī sanat sitt wa-thamānīn wa-alf ḥāṣiluhu ayyad Allāh Ta‘āla al-‘ulamā’ ahl al-taḥqīq wa-hadā bi-him aṭ-ṭalībīn sawā’ aṭ-ṭarīq ...”<sup>60</sup>

In addition, it is now possible to argue on the basis of fresh evidence that the anonymous scholar described as ‘some visiting scholars to *Jāwah* who were highly praised for their knowledge of exoteric and esoteric sciences’ (*ba’d al-‘ulamā’ al-wāridīn ilaiḥā min-man yuthnā ‘alaihi biannahū ‘ālim bi ‘l-‘ilm az-ẓāhir wa ‘l-bāṭin*), to be none other than Nūr ad-Dīn ar-Rānirī. It is evident from several of his works that he mentioned the exact issue pertaining to the notorious ecstatic utterances or the sweeping statements (*shaṭaḥāt*) of *Ṣūfīs* which were later answered by Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī.<sup>61</sup> It is worthwhile mentioning that the questions about the *shaṭaḥāt* posted from the Archipelago were perhaps sent by ‘Abd ar-Ra’ūf as-Sinkīlī himself. As already demonstrated earlier, he enjoyed a special teacher-student relation with Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī and was probably his closest *Jāwī* disciple. Furthermore, as-Sinkīlī’s travels to the Arab world were between 1052/1642 and 1072/1661, hence, he was back in the Archipelago by the time the question was posed and sent in 1089/1678.

A systematic and comprehensive analysis of the network connecting the *Jāwī ‘ulamā’* and the centres of Islamic learning in Arabia in the



seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was recently undertaken by Azyumardi Azra. In his book *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia: Networks of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern 'Ulamā' in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, based mostly on his PhD dissertation, he successfully sketches and demonstrates the intensive scholarly connections and hence proves that the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries constituted one of the most dynamic periods in the socio-intellectual history of Islam, particularly pertaining to the Islamic history of Southeast Asia.

For the seventeenth century, Azra lists three major *Jāwī* scholars in historical sequence, Nūr ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Ḥasanjī al-Ḥumayd ash-Shāfi'ī al-Ash'arī al-'Aydarūs ar-Rānīrī (d. 1068/1658), though born in Rānīr (modern Randir) India, he is generally regarded as a *Jāwī 'ālim*, probably of Arab origin rather than Indian or Arab, as he wrote eloquently both in Malay and Arabic. The second scholar in the seventeenth century whom Azra studied was 'Abd ar-Ra'ūf b. 'Alī al-Jāwī al-Fanṣūrī as-Sinkīlī, a Malay of Fanṣūr, Sinkil (modern Singkel) on the south-western coastal region of Aceh. 'Abd ar-Ra'ūf as-Sinkīlī, as indicated previously, has been studied by Johns who managed to trace his connections with the Arab scholars of his period. Finally the third *Jāwī* scholar in the seventeenth century is Muḥammad Yūsuf b. 'Abd Allāh Abū al-Maḥāsin at-Tāj al-Khalwātī al-Maqassārī (1037-1111/1627-99). Al-Maqassārī, as he tells us himself, was a student of al-Rānīrī but probably studied with him in India as the latter had left for Rānīr when the former departed from Makassar, hence, it is unlikely that they met in Aceh. As al-Maqassārī's period of study in Mecca and Medina coincided with that of as-Sinkīlī, therefore it can be expected that he must have studied with the same teachers as the latter.

While these three key figures are given particular attention by Azra as each was studied individually in a separate chapter to demonstrate their links with the '*ulamā*' of the Arab world in the seventeenth century,<sup>62</sup> by contrast, the scholars of the eighteenth century only receive partial attention as all of them were grouped and studied only in one chapter.<sup>63</sup> These include scholars such as Muḥammad Arshad al-Banjārī, Muḥammad Nafīs al-Banjārī, 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī and Dāwūd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī. Though all of them do not have direct teacher-

student connections with al-Rānīrī, as-Sinkīlī or al-Maqassārī, their teachers from the Arab centres of Islamic learning, especially in Mecca, Medina, Egypt, Yemen, Damascus, etc., were prominent scholars in the eighteenth century who had direct connections with earlier scholars of these centres.

It is important to comprehend that the links between the Malay Archipelago and the Arab world, especially Mecca as a centre for Islamic learning for centuries, was an ongoing and continuous tradition that developed further in the nineteenth century. This is evident from the numerous *Jāwī* '*ulamā*' who became prominent teachers and formed an integral part of the scholarly network especially in Mecca in this period. The close teacher-student bonds of the *Jāwī* community who studied with numerous Arab scholars of Mecca, even apart from studying with their compatriots, were evident as they were asking for *fatwās* (Islamic legal opinions) on religious issues arising back in their homeland. For instance, even in the nineteenth century, 'Abd as-Salām b. Idrīs al-Jāwī al-Ashī, in 1305/1887, translated into Malay a collection of *fatwās* pertaining to religious issues back in the Malay Archipelago originally issued by three renowned scholars of Mecca, Aḥmad Zaynī Daḥlān (d. 1304/1886), the Meccan Yemeni Muḥammad Sa'īd Bā-Buṣayl (1249-1330/1833-1912), both Shāfi'ī *muftīs* in Mecca successively, and Muḥammad b. Sulaymān Ḥasab Allāh (d. 1335/1916).<sup>64</sup>

Therefore, studying these *Jāwī* scholars individually along with their works, which up to the present day have not been sufficiently studied, will definitely give us a better and clearer picture of their contributions to the development of Islam in the Archipelago and hence, a better understanding of the religious and cultural history of Southeast Asia.

## The '*Ulamā*' of Palembang Origin

The '*ulamā*' from the Archipelago have attracted the interest of modern scholars as a subject of study because it provides a better understanding of the process of Islamization and the intellectual history of Southeast Asia in a wider context. In this sense, Palembang was no exception. However, unlike the case of its predecessor in Aceh, North Sumatra, it was not until the eighteenth century that '*ulamā*' from South Sumatra began to make

their appearance. This undoubtedly indicates that it was only from the eighteenth century onwards that Palembang began to play an important role in the Islamization process in the Archipelago and was eventually to supersede Aceh as the new centre for Islamic learning.

This needs to be seen against the historical background. Namely the fact that from the fourth to the fourteenth centuries A.D., Sri Vijaya, a Mahayana Buddhist kingdom, having the port of Palembang united with its neighbouring Melayu (Jambi) as its centre, flourished during this period in South East Sumatra and that Islam had only penetrated later. Sri Vijaya was renowned especially during the eighth – tenth centuries for its famous study centres for Buddhism and Sanskrit. The famous Chinese Buddhist pilgrim I-tsing, who visited this kingdom on his way to India in 671 A.D., observed the presence of over a thousand Buddhist monks, and thus he stayed there for six months studying Sanskrit grammar before embarking to India and four more years on his return.<sup>65</sup> This without doubt indicates the importance of Sri Vijaya as a Mahayana Buddhist centre of learning before its decline and the arrival of Islam later on.

Traditional accounts indicate that Islam was said to have been introduced into Palembang only in the fifteenth century, about 1440 by Raden Rahmat.<sup>66</sup> It was only later, from the seventeenth century onwards, after the Sultanate of Palembang officially adopted Islam as its religion, that the course of Islam developed rapidly.<sup>67</sup>

However, similar to the case of Aceh in the seventeenth century, it was largely due to the patronage of the Sulṭān of Palembang in the eighteenth century that most of its '*ulamā*' began to flourish during this period and numerous students of Palembang origin were able to make their appearance in centres of Islamic learning, especially in *al-Ḥaramayn*, including 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī himself.

Gerardus Willebrordus Joannes Drewes (d. 1992), in his work on Palembang manuscripts and authors of the eighteenth century, provides a list of '*ulamā*' and authors of Palembang origin, eleven of them to be exact, together with their known works. This include Shihāb ad-Dīn b. 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad who authored *Kitāb 'Aqīdat al-Bayān*, a short and simple survey of the twenty attributes of God (*sifāt dua puluh*) and an exposition of the meaning of the short creed '*naḥī ithbāt*' or the Negation and the Affirmation; a *Risālah* dealing with the *kalimat ash-shahādah*



(statement of testimony) in a mystical sense, intended to shield people from both manifest and hidden polytheism (*shirk jalī* and *shirk khafī*); and a Malay translation of an Arabic commentary on the well-known *Jawharat at-Tawḥīd* by Ibrāhīm al-Laḳānī (d. 1041/1631), which he completed in 1163/1750. Shihāb ad-Dīn's son, Muḥammad Muḥyī ad-Dīn who translated into Malay an Arabic 'Life of Muḥammad as-Sammān' entitled *Hikayat Shaikh Muhammad Samman*, completed in 1196/1781. Kemas Fakhr ad-Dīn who has four works attributed to him, among them *Kitāb Mukhtaṣar*, a Malay translation of the revered Damascene saint, Walī Raslān ad-Dimashqī's (d. 541/1146) *Risālah fī 't-Tawḥīd*, with additions borrowed from the commentaries by the prolific Egyptian *Qāḍī*, Shaykh al-Islām Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī (d. 926/1520) and the eighteenth century Damascene *Ṣūfī* and 'ālim, 'Abd al-Ghanī an-Nābulusī (d. 1143/1731); and *Khawāṣṣ al-Qur'ān al-'Aẓīm*, dealing with the eminent qualities of the chapters and verses of the Qur'ān, began in 1183/1769 and completed in 1184/1770. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Kemas Badr ad-Dīn (1132-77/1719-63) who under the patronage of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Badr ad-Dīn (r. 1724-57) of Palembang wrote his *Nafaḥāt ar-Raḥmān fī Manāqib Ustādhinā al-A'ẓam as-Sammān*, on virtues (*manāqib*) and miracles (*karāmat*) of the renowned eighteenth century *Ṣūfī* saint (*walī*) in Medina, Shaykh Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān (d. 1189/1775); and *Baḥr al-'Ajā'ib*, which deals with calculations for the prediction of future events, translated from the Arabic *Baḥr al-Wuqūf fī 'Ilm at-Tawfīq wa 'l-Ḥurūf* of 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Biṣṭāmī (d. 858/1454). Probably the most prominent among those included in this list was 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī himself, with seven works credited to him (including *Tuḥfat ar-Rāghibīn*, which I will prove later is wrongly attributed to him).<sup>68</sup>

It is worth mentioning that based on my investigation of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Kemas's *Nafaḥāt ar-Raḥmān*, the account of 'his year of birth' 1132/1719 and 'his year of death' 1177/1763 given by van Ronkel and Winstedt cannot possibly be accepted.<sup>69</sup> What can be deduced from this work is that he himself was not a direct student of as-Sammān as he addressed him as '*shaykh mashyāyikhinā*' (teacher of our teachers); rather he was a student of as-Sammān's students such as his own father, Aḥmad Kemas al-Falimbānī, Ṣiddīq b. 'Umar Khān al-Madanī, 'Abd ar-

Raḥmān b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Maghribī, and as-Sammān’s own son, ‘Abd al-Karīm.<sup>70</sup> If Muḥammad Kemas was born in 1132/1719, it seems strange that he did not accompany his father to study directly with as-Sammān, who himself was born in 1130/1717, especially knowing that his father, Aḥmad Kemas, was a devoted disciple of as-Sammān who venerated his teacher highly. Furthermore, in his *Nafaḥāt ar-Raḥmān*, the author devoted a chapter to numerous *karāmats* of as-Sammān reported by his students after his death (1189/1775).<sup>71</sup> It should be understood that in the *Ṣūfī*’s tradition, the *karāmat* of a *walī* does not only occur during his life but continues even after his death. Therefore, if Muḥammad Kemas died in 1177/1763, it is impossible for him to write this chapter as as-Sammān was still alive at that time. It is also unlikely that as-Sammān’s *manāqib* could have been written in Palembang before 1763 as he was still alive and as a rule, such works are not compiled until the venerated *Ṣūfī* scholar had passed away.

Johns, in his studies on Islam in the Malay Archipelago, mentioned three ‘*ulamā*’ of Palembang in the eighteenth century including ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī himself. All of them were already mentioned by Drewes in his work. Nevertheless, Johns points out that out of the three ‘*ulamā*’, it was ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī who gained much more than just local importance as he spent most of his intellectual life and writing career in Mecca.<sup>72</sup>

Apart from the known ‘*ulamā*’ of Palembang and their works whom Drewes and Johns have listed, there are further ‘*ulamā*’ that are not known to modern studies as their names have never appeared in these works. This can be seen, for instance, in names such as ‘Āqib b. Ḥasan ad-Dīn b. Ja‘far al-Falimbānī al-Madanī, his brother, Ṣāliḥ al-Falimbānī, their grandfather, Ja‘far b. Muḥammad al-Falimbānī (d. 1128/1715 in Mecca), Maḥmūd b. Kinān al-Falimbānī and others.<sup>73</sup> It is from their teacher-student links with ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī that we can more precisely conclude that most of them lived or at least were alive in the eighteenth century. Despite the large number of Palembang ‘*ulamā*’ that were contemporaneous to ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī, without doubt, he transcended them in fame as we will see in the following chapters.

## Endnotes

- <sup>1</sup> These include al-Qannūjī's (d. 1307/1889) *at-Tāj al-Mukallal min Jawāhir Maāthir at-Ṭirāz 'l-Ākhir wa 'l-Awwal* (The Garlanded Crown with Jewels of Achievements of the Latter and the Earlier); *Tarājim A'yān al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah fī 'l-Qarn 12 Hijrī* (Biographical Notices of Notables of Medina in the Twelfth Century A.H.) by an anonymous author and edited by Muḥammad at-Tunjī; al-Ahdalī's (d. 1972) *al-Qawl al-A'dal fī Tarājim Banī al-Ahdal* (The Veritable Statement on the Biographical Notices of the al-Ahdal Family); Muḥammad Muṭī' al-Ḥāfiẓ and Nizār Abāzah's compilations of *'Ulamā' Dimashq wa-A'yānuhā fī 'l-Qarn ath-Thānī 'Ashar al-Hijrī* (Damascene Scholars and Notables in the Twelfth Century A.H.) and *'Ulamā' Dimashq wa-A'yānuhā fī 'l-Qarn ath-Thālith 'Ashar al-Hijrī* (Damascene Scholars and Notables in the Thirteenth Century A.H.); al-Ḥusaynī's (d. 1226/1811) *Tarājim Ahl 'l-Quds fī 'l-Qarn ath-Thānī 'Ashar al-Hijrī* (Biographical Notices on the People of Jerusalem in the Twelfth Century A.H.); al-Mu'allimī's *A'lām al-Makkiyyīn min 'l-Qarn at-Tāsi' ilā 'l-Qarn ar-Rābi' 'Ashar al-Hijrī* (Prominent Scholars of Mecca from the Ninth till the Fourteenth Century A.H.); al-Ālūsī's (d. 1340/1922) *ad-Durr al-Muntathar fī Rijāl al-Qarn ath-Thānī 'Ashar wa 'th-Thālith 'Ashar* (The Dispersed Pearls on the Men of the Twelfth and the Thirteenth Centuries); Aḥmad Taymūr Bāshā's (d. 1348/1930) *Tarājim A'yān al-Qarn ath-Thālith 'Ashar wa-Awā'il ar-Rābi' 'Ashar* (Biographical Notices of Notables of the Thirteenth and the Early Fourteenth Century); al-Ḥaḍrāwī's (d. 1327/1909) *Nuzhat al-Fikar fī-mā Maḍā min 'l-Ḥawādith wa 'l-'Ibar fī Tarājim Rijāl al-Qarn ath-Thānī 'Ashar wa 'th-Thālith 'Ashar* (Promenade of the Intellect on the Past Events and Lessons from the Biographical Notices of Men of the Twelfth and the Thirteenth Centuries); ash-Shaṭṭī's *Rawḍ al-Bashar fī A'yān Dimashq fī 'l-Qarn ath-Thālith 'Ashar 1200 – 1300* (Gardens of Humankind on the Damascene Notables in the Thirteenth Century 1200-1300) and *A'yān Dimashq fī 'l-Qarn ath-Thālith 'Ashar wa-Nisf 'l-Qarn ar-Rābi' 'Ashar 1201-1350* (Damascene Notables in the Thirteenth and the first half of the Fourteenth Centuries 1201-1350); al-Qādirī's (d. 1187/1773) *Iltiqāt ad-Durar wa-Mustafād al-Mawā'iz wa 'l-'Ibar min Akhbār wa-A'yān al-Mi'ah al-Ḥādiyah wa 'th-Thāniah 'Ashar* (Gleans of Pearls and Beneficial Lessons from the Accounts and Notables of the Eleventh and the Twelfth Centuries) and *Nashr al-Mathānī li-Ahl 'l-Qarn al-Ḥādī 'Ashar wa 't-Thānī* (The Dual Diffusions on the People



of the Eleventh and the Twelfth Centuries); Mirdād's (d. 1343/1924) *al-Mukhtaṣar min Kitāb Nashr an-Nawr wa 'z-Zahr fī Tarājim Afāḍil Makkah min 'l-Qarn al-ʿĀshir ilā 'l-Qarn ar-Rābiʿ ʿAshar* (Abstract from the Book of Blossoms and Flowers Diffusion on the Biographical Notices of the Elite of Mecca from the Tenth till the Fourteenth century); Mardām Beyk's (d. 1378/1959) *Aʿyān al-Qarn ath-Thālith ʿAshar fī 'l-Fikr wa 's-Siāsah wa 'l-ʾIjtīmāʿ* (Notables of the Thirteenth Century in Thought, Politics and Society).

- <sup>2</sup> Al-Muḥibbī's *Khulāṣat al-Athar fī Aʿyān al-Qarn al-Ḥādī ʿAshar* (The Epitome of Traditions on Notable persons of the Eleventh Century); al-Murādī's *Salk ad-Durar fī Aʿyān al-Qarn ath-Thānī ʿAshar* (The Stringing of Pearls on Notable Persons of the Twelfth Century); al-Bayṭār's *Ḥilyat al-Bashar fī Tārīkh al-Qarn ath-Thālith ʿAshar* (The Ornamentation of Humankind on the History of the Thirteenth Century); ʿAbd al-Jabbār's *Siyar wa-Tarājim Baʿḍ ʿUlamāʾinā fī 'l-Qarn ar-Rābiʿ ʿAshar li 'l-Hijrah* (Biographical Notices of Some of our Scholars in the Fourteenth Century).
- <sup>3</sup> Al-Ghazzī's *al-Kawākib as-Sāʾirah bi-Aʿyān al-Miʾah al-ʿĀshirah* (The Orbiting Planets on the Notables of the Tenth Century).
- <sup>4</sup> Al-Aḥdal's *an-Nafas al-Yamānī wa 'r-Rawḥ ar-Rayḥānī fī Ijāzat al-Quḍāt Banī ash-Shawkānī* (The Yemeni Breath and the Delightful repose on the Authorisations of ash-Shawkānī's sons).
- <sup>5</sup> Zabārah's *Nayl al-Waṭar min Tarājim Rijāl al-Yaman fī 'l-Qarn ath-Thālith ʿAshar min Hijrat Sayyid al-Bashar SAW* (Attainment of Purpose from Biographical Notices of the Yemeni Scholars in the Thirteenth Century); al-Ḥāfiẓ's *Tārīkh ʿUlamāʾ Dimashq fī 'l-Qarn ar-Rābiʿ ʿAshar al-Hijrī* (History of Damascene Scholars in the Fourteenth Century A.H.); at-Tunjī's (ed.) *Tarājim Aʿyān al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah fī 'l-Qarn 12 Hijrī* (Biographical Notices of Notables of Medina in the Twelfth Century A.H.).
- <sup>6</sup> Al-Ālūsī's *al-Misk al-Adhfar fī Nashr Mazāyā al-Qarn ath-Thānī ʿAshar wa 'th-Thālith ʿAshar* (The Pungent Musk in the Diffusion of Traits of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries); ash-Shawkānī's *al-Badr at-Ṭālī bi-Maḥāsin Man Baʿda 'l-Qarn as-Sābiʿ* (The Rising Full Moon on the Good Qualities of those after the Seventh Century); al-Muʿallimī's *Aʿlām al-Makkiyyīn min 'l-Qarn at-Tāsiʿ ilā 'l-Qarn ar-Rābiʿ ʿAshar al-Hijrī* (The Learned Scholars of Mecca from the Ninth till the Fourteenth Century A.H.); al-Hilāh's *at-Tārīkh wa 'l-Muʾarrikhūn bi-Makkah min 'l-Qarn ath-Thālith al-Hijrī ilā 'l-Qarn ath-Thālith ʿAshar: Jamaʿ wa-ʿArḍ wa-Taʾrīf*

(The History and Historians of Mecca from the Third till the Thirteenth Century A.H.: compilation, presentation and definition).

- <sup>7</sup> See van Bruinessen, Martin, "A Note on Source Materials for the Biographies of Southeast Asian 'Ulama," in *La Transmission Du Savoir Dans Le Monde Musulman Peripherique, Lettre d'information*, (17, 1997) p. 59.
- <sup>8</sup> According to as-Sayyid Muḥammad b. Aḥmad ash-Shāṭirī in his *al-Mu'jam al-Laṭīf*, p. 81, "al-Ḥabshī with *fath al-ḥā'* and *al-bā'* as it is commonly known, but some pronounce it al-Ḥabshī with *sukūn al-bā'* in attenuation, while the people of Ḥijāz pronounce it al-Ḥibshī with *kasr al-ḥā'* and *sukūn al-bā'*. The house of al-Ḥabshī trace back their attribution to Abū Bakr al-Ḥabshī, nicknamed with al-Ḥabshī for his travels and sojourn in al-Ḥabashah (Abyssinia) propagating Islamic teachings for nearly twenty years. What al-Kattānī claims in his *Fahras* to be al-Ḥibshī is merely following the pronunciation that he heard from the people of Ḥijāz." See Abū Ghuddah (d. 1417/1996), 'Abd al-Fattāḥ, *Imdād al-Fattāḥ bi-Asānīd wa-Marwiyyāt ash-Shaykh 'Abd al-Fattāḥ*, edited by Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh Āli Rashīd (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Riyadh, Maktabat al-Imām ash-Shāfi'ī, 1419/1999), p. 254.
- <sup>9</sup> For al-Fādānī's works on *isnād* alone al-Mar'ashlī listed about sixty five of them. See al-Fādānī, *ar-Rawḍ al-Fā'iḥ wa-Bughyat al-Ghādī wa-'r-Rā'iḥ bi-Ijāzah Faḍīlat al-Ustādh Muḥammad Riyāḍ al-Māliḥ (1358-1419/1939-1998)*, edited by Yūsuf al-Mar'ashlī (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Beirut, Dār al-Bashā'ir al-Islāmiyyah, 1426/2005), pp. 102-9.
- <sup>10</sup> See Mamdūḥ, Abū Sulaymān Maḥmūd Sa'īd b. Muḥammad Mamdūḥ al-Qāhirī al-Miṣrī ash-Shāfi'ī, *Tashnīf al-Asmā' bi-Shuyūkh al-Ijāzah wa-'s-Samā', aw, Imtā' Ūlī 'n-Nazar bi-Ba'd A'yān al-Qarn ar-Rābi' 'Ashar* (al-Iskandariyyah, Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1984), p. 11; al-Fādānī, *ar-Rawḍ al-Fā'iḥ*, pp. 104, 106; idem, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd min Jawāhir al-Asānīd* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Surabaya, Dār as-Saqāf, 1401/1980), p. 1. I understand that at least one copy of this work exist in a private library in Mecca but I was not able to consult it.
- <sup>11</sup> See al-Falimbānī (d. 1411/1991), Muḥammad Mukhtār ad-Dīn b. Zayn al-'Ābidīn, *Bulūgh al-Amānī fī 't-Ta'rīf bi-Shuyūkh wa-Asānīd Musnid al-'Aṣr ash-Shaykh Muḥammad Yāsīn b. Muḥammad 'Īsā al-Fādānī al-Makkī; Silsilat at-Ta'rīf bi-Shuyūkh wa-Asānīd Musnid al-'Aṣr 'I'* (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Damascus, Dār Qutaybah; Jeddah, Dār 'Izzī, 1408/1988), vol. 1, p.7.

- <sup>12</sup> See al-Fādānī, *ar-Rawḍ al-Fā'iḥ*, edited by al-Mar'ashlī, p. 109; Yūsuf, Muḥammad Khayr Ramaḍān, *Tatimmat al-A'lām li 'z-Ziriklī* (2 vols., 1<sup>st</sup> edition, Beirut, Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 1418/1998), vol. 2, p. 143.
- <sup>13</sup> See Bruinessen, "A Note on Source Materials," p. 59. Cf. al-Fādānī, *al-Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 20, 34, 63, 68; idem, *Asānīd al-Faqīh Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥajar al-Haytamī* (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Beirut, Dār al-Bashā'ir al-Islāmiyyah, 1409/1988), p. 36; idem, *al-Arba'ūn al-Buldāniyyah: Arba'ūn Ḥadūthan 'an Arba'in Shaykhan min Arba'in Baladan* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Beirut, Dār al-Bashā'ir al-Islāmiyyah, 1407/1987), p. 66; idem, *an-Nafḥat al-Miskiyyah fī 'l-Asānīd al-Makkiyyah* (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Beirut, Dār al-Bashā'ir al-Islāmiyyah, 1410/1990), pp. 64, 114.
- <sup>14</sup> According to Yūsuf, even the works of Muḥammad Mukhtār al-Falimbānī himself are not free from such mistakes, see Yūsuf, *Tatimmat al-A'lām*, vol. 2, p. 143.
- <sup>15</sup> *Ṭabaqāt ash-Shāfi'iyyah aṣ-Ṣughrā* (The Small Biographical Compendiums on the Generations of Shāfi'ī Scholars) and *Ṭabaqāt ash-Shāfi'iyyah al-Kubrā* (The Large Biographical Compendiums on the Generations of Shāfi'ī Scholars). See al-Fādānī, *ar-Rawḍ al-Fā'iḥ*, p. 53; al-Kuzbarī (d. 1262/1846), 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān, *Thabat al-Kuzbarī* (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Damascus, Dār al-Baṣā'ir, 1403/1983), p. 15; Bruinessen, *op. cit.*, p. 58. Perhaps these works are still in manuscript form, as al-Mar'ashlī points out that most of al-Fādānī's unpublished works are still kept in his personal library in Mecca.
- <sup>16</sup> See Abū Ghuddah, *Imdād al-Fattāḥ*, pp. 500-2.
- <sup>17</sup> See Khawqīr (d. 1349/1930), Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad 'Ārif b. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Makkī al-Kutbī al-Ḥanbalī, *Thabat al-Athbāt ash-Shahīrah*, edited by Rāshid b. 'Āmir b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ghufaylī (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Riyadh, s.n., 1425/2004), pp. 11-2; Ghāzī (d. 1365/1945), 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Hindī al-Makkī, *Fath al-Qawī fī Dhikri Asānīd as-Sayyid Ḥusayn al-Ḥibshī al-'Alawī* (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Published by his grandson Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn al-Ḥibshī, 1418/1997), p. 242.
- <sup>18</sup> See Sunbul (d. 1175/1761), Muḥammad Sa'īd b. Muḥammad Sunbul al-Majlā'ī ash-Shāfi'ī al-Makkī, *al-Awā'il as-Sunbuliyyah wa-Dhayluḥā*, edited by 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Abū Ghuddah (Beirut, Maktabat al-Maṭbū'āt al-Islāmiyyah, 1427/2006), pp. 13-4.
- <sup>19</sup> For further discussion on the range of terminology used for *isnād* works, see al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 67-71; vol. 2, pp. 609-10, 624.



- <sup>20</sup> See al-Ḥabshī (d. 1314/1896), ‘Aydārūs b. ‘Umar b. ‘Aydārūs al-‘Alawī, *‘Uqūd al-La’āl fī Asānīd ar-Rijāl* (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Cairo, Maṭba‘at Lajnat al-Bayān al-‘Arabī, 1970), pp. 27-8.
- <sup>21</sup> See Khawqīr, *Thabat al-Athbāt ash-Shahīrah*, pp. 12-3.
- <sup>22</sup> See as-Sindī (d. 1257/1841), Muḥammad ‘Ābid b. Aḥmad ‘Alī al-Ayyūbī an-Naqshabandī, *Ḥaṣr ash-Shārid min Asānīd Muḥammad ‘Ābid*, edited by Khalīl b. ‘Uthmān al-Jabūr as-Sabī‘ī (2 vols., 1<sup>st</sup> edition, Riyadh, Maktabat ar-Rushd Nāshirūn, 1424/2003), vol. 1, pp. 21-2; Khawqīr, *Thabat al-Athbāt ash-Shahīrah*, p. 12.
- <sup>23</sup> See Ibn ‘Ābidīn (d. 1252/1836), Muḥammad Amīn b. ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Ḥusaynī, *‘Uqūd al-La’āl fī ‘l-Asānīd al-‘Awālī*, edited by Muḥammad Abū al-Khayr ‘Ābidīn (Damascus, Maṭba‘at al-Ma‘ārif, 1302/1884), p. 231; aḏ-Ḍāhirī (d. 1328/1910), Fāliḥ b. Muḥammad al-Muḥannawī al-Madanī, *Ḥusnu ‘l-Wafā li-Ikhwān aṣ-Ṣafā*, edited by Muḥammad Yāsīn b. ‘Īsā al-Fādānī (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Beirut, Dār al-Bashā’ir al-Islāmiyyah, 1409/1988), p. 5.
- <sup>24</sup> See Murtaḏā az-Zabīdī (d. 1205/1790), Muḥammad Murtaḏā b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd ar-Razzāq al-Ḥusaynī al-‘Alawī, *al-Murabbī al-Kābulī fī man Rawā ‘an ash-Shams al-Bābilī*, edited by Muḥammad b. Nāṣir al-‘Ajmī (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Beirut, Dār al-Bashā’ir al-Islāmiyyah; Damascus, Dār aṣ-Ṣiddīq, 1425/2004), p. 177; as-Saffārīnī (d. 1188/1774), Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Sālim al-Ḥanbalī al-Atharī, *Thabat al-Imām as-Saffārīnī al-Ḥanbalī wa-Ijāzātuhu li-Ṭā’ifah min A’yān ‘Ulamā’ ‘Aṣrihi*, edited by Muḥammad b. Nāṣir al-‘Ajmī (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Beirut, Dār al-Bashā’ir al-Islāmiyyah, 1425/2004), pp. 32-3, 97, 212.
- <sup>25</sup> ‘Aydārūs al-Ḥabshī relates that all his narrations from ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal is by way of general *ijāzah* (*al-ijāzah al-‘āmmah*), see his *‘Uqūd al-La’āl*, pp. 7, 27, 257.
- <sup>26</sup> See al-Fādānī, *Ithāf al-Bararah bi-Asānīd al-Kutub al-Ḥadīthiyyah al-‘Asharah* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Damascus, Dār al-Baṣā’ir, 1403/1983), pp. 10-12.
- <sup>27</sup> Cf. al-Fādānī, *al-‘Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 14, 16, 20, 29, passim.
- <sup>28</sup> See Yule, Henry (ed. & trans.), *The Book Of Ser Marco Polo, The Venetian: Concerning The Kingdoms and Marvels of The East* (2 vols., 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, London, John Murray, 1903), vol. 2, p. 284; Ricklefs, M. C. *A History of Modern Indonesia Since C.1200* (3<sup>rd</sup> edition, California, Stanford University Press, 2001), p. 4; Gibb, H. A. R. (trans.) *Ibn Battuta Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354*, E. Denison Ross and Eileen Power (eds.)

(London, George Routledge and Sons Ltd., 1929), pp. 273-6. For further discussions on the coming of Islam to the archipelago, see al-Attas, Syed Naguib, *Preliminary Statement on a General Theory of The Islamization of The Malay-Indonesian Archipelago* (Kuala Lumpur, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1969), pp. 11-17; Drewes, G. W. J. "New Light on The Coming of Islam to Indonesia" in Ibrahim, Ahmad., Siddique, Sharon, & Hussain, Yasmin (eds.) *Readings on Islam in Southeast Asia* (Singapore, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1985), pp. 7-19; Fatimi, S. Q., *Islam Comes to Malaysia* (Singapore, Malaysian Sociological Institute, 1963), especially pp. 5-36.

<sup>29</sup> The Arabic epitaph reads: "*hādhā qabr al-marḥūm al-maghfūr at-taqī an-nāṣiḥ al-ḥasīb an-nasīb al-karīm al-‘ābid al-fātiḥ al-mulaqqab bi-Sulṭān [al-]malik aṣ-ṣāliḥ.*" See Fatimi, *Islam Comes to Malaysia*, pp. 30-1; Baloch, N. A., *The Advent of Islam in Indonesia* (Islamabad, National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1980), pp. 34-5.

<sup>30</sup> See al-Fādānī, *Ithāf al-Bararah*, p. 7.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>32</sup> See az-Ziriklī (d. 1396/1976), Khayr ad-Dīn, *al-A‘lām Qāmus Tarājīm li-Ashar ar-Rijāl wa ‘n-Nisā’ min ‘l-‘Arab wa ‘l-Muta‘rribīn wa ‘l-Mustashriqīn* (8 vols., 13<sup>th</sup> edition, Beirut, Dār al-‘Ilm li ‘l-Malāyīn, 1998), vol. 1, p. 191; al-‘Aydārūs, Muḥammad Ḥasan, *Ashrāf Ḥaḍramawt wa-Dawruhum fī Nashr al-Islām bi-Janūb Sharq Āsiā* (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Abu Dhabi, Dār al-Mutanabbī li ‘ṭ-Ṭibā‘ah wa ‘n-Nashr, s.a.), pp. 14-22.

<sup>33</sup> See al-‘Aydārūs, *Ashrāf Ḥaḍramawt*, pp. 34, 37-44.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. al-Ḥasanī (d. 1341/1922), ‘Abd al-Ḥayy b. Fakhr ad-Dīn, *al-I‘lām bi-man fī Tārīkh al-Hind min ‘l-A‘lām al-Musammā bi-Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir wa-Bahjat al-Masāmi‘ wa ‘n-Nawāzīr* (6 vols., 1<sup>st</sup> edition, Beirut, Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 1420/1999), vol. 5, pp. 465, 489, 511, *passim*.

<sup>35</sup> For further discussions on the *Ashrāf* of Hadramawt and their role in propagating Islam to Southeast Asia, see al-‘Aydārūs, *Ashrāf Ḥaḍramawt*, especially pp. 27-54.

<sup>36</sup> See as-Sinkīlī (d. 1105/1693), ‘Abd ar-Ra‘ūf b. ‘Alī al-Jāwī, *Umdat al-Muḥtājīn ilā Sulūk Maslak al-Mufradīn* (MS National Library of Malaysia), MSS 2466, fols. 59-60; Winstedt, *A History of Classical Malay Literature*, pp. 136-7, 148; al-Attas, *Some Aspects of Sufism*, p. 23; Ito, Takeshi, "Why did Nuruddin ar-Raniri leave Aceh in 1054 A.H.?" in *BKI* (134, 1978), p. 491; Johns, "Islam in the Malay World" pp. 121-3; *idem*, "Aspects of Sufi Thought in India and Indonesia in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup>

Century,” *JMBRAS*, 28 (1955), p. 72; idem, “From Coastal Settlement” pp. 11-2; Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism*, pp. 52, 71-7.

- <sup>37</sup> For further discussions on the history of the trade routes in the Indian Ocean, see Hourani, George Fadl, *Arab Seafaring in the Indian Ocean in Ancient and Early Medieval Times* (Beirut, Khayats, 1963), especially pp. 61-79; Meilink-Roelofs, M. A. P., “Trade and Islam in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago prior to the arrival of the Europeans” in Richards, D. S. (ed.), *Islam and the Trade of Asia* (Oxford, Bruno Cassirer, 1970), pp. 137-155; Tibbetts, G. R., “Early Muslim Traders in South-East Asia,” *JMBRAS*, 30 (1957), pp. 1-45; Di Meglio, Rita Rose, “Arab Trade with Indonesia and the Malay Peninsula from the 8<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup> Century” in Richards, D. S. (ed.), *Islam and the Trade of Asia* (Oxford, Bruno Cassirer, 1970), pp. 105-26.
- <sup>38</sup> See Johns, “Aspects of Sufi Thought,” pp. 70-77; idem, “Friends in grace” pp. 469-485; idem, “From Coastal Settlement” pp. 3-28; idem, “The Role of Sufism in the Spread of Islam to Malaya and Indonesia,” *Journal of The Pakistan Historical Society*, 9 (1961), pp. 143-161; idem, “Islam in the Malay World” pp. 115-61; idem, “Islam in Southeast Asia: Reflections and New Directions,” *Indonesia*, 19 (1975), pp. 33-55.
- <sup>39</sup> Cf. al-Kūrānī (d. 1101/1690), Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan ash-Shahrānī ash-Shahrazūrī, *Ithāf adh-Dhakī bi-Sharḥ at-Tuḥfat al-Mursalāh ilā Rūḥ an-Nabī* (MS National Library of Malaysia) MSFB (A) 978, p. 2.
- <sup>40</sup> *al-Jawābāt al-Gharāwīyyah ‘an ‘l-Masā’il al-Jāwīyyah al-Jahriyyah* (The Venerable Answers to the Jāwī Overtness Issues), see al-Baghdādī (d. 1339/1920), Ismā‘īl Bāshā b. Muḥammad Amīn, *Hadiyyat al-‘Ārifin Asmā’ al-Mu’allifin wa-Athār al-Muṣannifin* (2 vols., Istanbul, Wikālat al-Ma‘ārif al-Jalīlah, 1951), vol. 1, p. 35; idem, *Īdāḥ al-Maknūn fī ‘dh-Dhyal ‘alā Kashf az-Zunūn ‘an Asāmī al-Kutub wa ‘l-Funūn* (2 vols., Beirut, Dār Iḥyā’ at-Turāth al-‘Arabī, s.a.), vol. 1, p. 370; al-Murādī (d. 1206/1791), Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad Khalīl b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī ad-Dimashqī, *Salk ad-Durar fī A’yān al-Qarn ath-Thānī ‘Ashar*, edited by Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Qādir Shāhīn (4 vols., 1<sup>st</sup> edition, Beirut, Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, 1418/1997), vol. 1, p. 10. On debating the permissibility of recitation of *dhikr* aloud (*jahr*), ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal supported his opinion by quoting his evidence from the *al-Jawābāt al-Gharāwīyyah*, see his *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 141-2.
- <sup>41</sup> *al-Jāddat al-Qawīmāh ilā Taḥqīq Mas’alat al-Wujūd wa-Ta’alluq al-Qudrat al-Qadīmāh fī ‘l-Jawāb ‘an ‘l-As’ilat al-Wāridah min Jāwah* (The Right Path on the Verification of the Question of Being and the

Dependent on Divine Power on the Answer to Questions Coming from Jāwah), see al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-‘Arifīn*, vol. 1, p. 245; idem, *Īdāḥ al-Maknūn*, vol. 1, p. 348; Kaḥḥālāh, ‘Umar Riḍā, *Mu‘jam al-Mu‘allifīn Tarājim Muṣannifī ‘l-Kutub al-‘Arabiyyah* (15 vols., Beirut, Dār Iḥyā’ at-Turāth al-‘Arabī, 1376/1957), vol. 3, p. 87.

<sup>42</sup> See Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism*, p. 43.

<sup>43</sup> *al-Durrat al-Bahiyyah fī Jawāb al-As‘ilat al-Jāwiyyah* (The Dazzling Pearls on the Answer to the Jāwī Questions), see al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 4, p. 125; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-‘Arifīn*, vol. 2, p. 342; idem, *Īdāḥ al-Maknūn*, vol. 2, p. 456.

<sup>44</sup> Johns, “Friends in grace,” pp. 469-85.

<sup>45</sup> This commentary of *at-Tuḥfat al-Mursalah ilā an-Nabī* is entitled *Iṭḥāf adh-Dhakī bi-Sharḥ at-Tuḥfat al-Mursalah ilā Rūḥ an-Nabī* (A Presentation to the Discerning on the Exposition of the Gift Addressed to the Spirit of the Prophet). Al-Burhānpūrī’s *at-Tuḥfat al-Mursalah* had been studied and translated by Johns in his work, *The Gift Addressed to The Spirit of The Prophet* (Canberra, The Australian National University, 1965).

<sup>46</sup> Ibn al-Fārid’s *at-Tā’iyyat al-Kubrā* (The Greater Ode Rhyming) and al-Farghānī’s *Muntahā al-Madārik wa-Mushtahā Lubb Kullī Kāmil wa-‘Arif wa-Sālik* (The Utmost Perspicacity and the Desire for the Heart of every Perfect, Knowing and Spiritual Seeker).

<sup>47</sup> Johns, “Islam in the Malay World,” pp. 123-6.

<sup>48</sup> See al-Kattānī (d. 1382/1962), ‘Abd al-Ḥayy b. ‘Abd al-Kabīr, *Fahras al-Fahāris wa ‘l-Athbāt wa-Mu‘jam al-Ma‘ājim wa ‘l-Mashīkhāt wa ‘l-Musalsalāt*, edited by Iḥsān ‘Abbās (3 vols., 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Beirut, Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1402/1982), vol. 1, p. 494; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 1, p. 10.

<sup>49</sup> See Rizvi, Saiyid Athar Abbas, *A History of Sufism in India* (2 vols., New Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1983), vol. 2, pp. 156-73, 329-33; Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism*, pp. 13-7.

<sup>50</sup> See Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol. 2, pp. 153, 173, 319, 329-33.

<sup>51</sup> This *isnād* is recorded at the end of al-Falimbānī’s *Zahrāt al-Murīd* and as-Sinkīlī’s *Umdat al-Muḥtājīn*. See al-Falimbānī, ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad, *Zahrāt al-Murīd fī Bayān Kalimat at-Tawḥīd* (Mecca, Maṭba‘at at-Taraqqī al-Mājidīyyah al-‘Uthmāniyyah, 1331/1912), pp. 11-2; as-Sinkīlī, *Umdat al-Muḥtājīn*, MSS 2466, fols. 58-9.

<sup>52</sup> See Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism*, p. 75.



- <sup>53</sup> For his biography and scholarly connections, see al-Muḥibbī (d. 1111/1699), Muḥammad Amīn b. Faḍl Allāh b. Muḥib Allāh al-Ḥamawī, *Khulāṣat al-Athar fī A'yān al-Qarn al-Ḥādī 'Ashar* (4 vols., Beirut, Dār aṣ-Ṣādir, s.a.), vol. 4, pp. 110-1; al-Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat al-Khawātir*, vol. 5, p. 625.
- <sup>54</sup> For further study of Ṣūfism in India during the Mughal Dynasty, see Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol. 2, pp. 409-32; Johns, "Aspects of Sufi Thought," pp. 72-3.
- <sup>55</sup> See Johns, "Aspects of Sufi Thought," pp. 70-3.
- <sup>56</sup> See al-Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat al-Khawātir*, vol. 5, p. 577.
- <sup>57</sup> See as-Sinkīlī, *Umdat al-Muḥtājīn*, MSS 2466, fol. 59.
- <sup>58</sup> See al-Kūrānī (d. 1101/1690), Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan ash-Shahrānī ash-Shahrazūrī, which begins: *faqad warada su'āl min ba'd Jazā'ir Jāwah sanah 1089 Hijriyah* [A Question posted from one of the Jāwah islands have reach us in 1089 A.H.], (MS Leiden University), Or. 2467, fol. 1.
- <sup>59</sup> See an-Nābulusī (d. 1143/1731), 'Abd al-Ghanī b. Ismā'īl, *Sharḥ Risālat al-Maslak al-Jalī fī Ḥukm Shaṭḥ al-Walī* (MS Princeton University) MS 499, fol. 2-9. Cf. Mach, Rudolf, *Catalogue of Arabic manuscripts (Yahuda section) in the Garrett Collection, Princeton University Library* (Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1977), p. 244.
- <sup>60</sup> *Ibid*, fol. 2.
- <sup>61</sup> See ar-Rānīrī (d. 1068/1658), Nūr ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Ḥasanjī al-Ḥumayd ash-Shāfī'ī, *Faṭḥ al-Mubīn* (MSS National Library of Malaysia) MSS 1137, fol. 2; idem, *Ḥill az-Zill* (MSS National Library of Malaysia), MSS 2488, fol. 67; idem, *Shifā' al-Qulūb* (MSS National Library of Malaysia), MSS 2249, fol. 3.
- <sup>62</sup> These three scholars, ar-Rānīrī, as-Sinkīlī and al-Maqassārī were each allocated to chapters three, four and five, respectively. See Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism*, pp. 52-108.
- <sup>63</sup> Unlike the three aforementioned seventeenth century scholars, all the following eighteenth century scholars were grouped together and studied in chapter six alone. *Ibid*, pp. 109-26.
- <sup>64</sup> This collections of translated *fatwās* is written in a work entitled *Muḥimmāt an-Nafā'is fī Bayān As'ilat al-Ḥādīth*.
- <sup>65</sup> See Hall, D. G. E., *A History of South-East Asia* (London, Macmillan & Co Ltd; New York, St Martin's Press, 1968), pp. 37-8.
- <sup>66</sup> See al-Attas, *Preliminary Statement*, pp. 13-4; Arnold, T. W., *The Preaching of Islam: A History of the Propagation of the Muslim Faith* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, New York, AMS Press Inc, 1974), p. 371; Quzwain, M. Chatib, "Syeikh



‘Abd al-Shamad al-Palimbani: Suatu Studi Mengenai Perkembangan Islam di Palembang dalam Abad ke 18 Masehi” in Gadjahnata, K.H.O. and Swasono, Sri-Edi (eds.), *Masuk dan Berkembangnya Islam di Sumatera Selatan* (Jakarta, Penerbit Universitas Indonesia, 1986), p. 175; idem, *Mengenal Allah: Suatu Kajian Mengenai Ajaran Tasawuf Syekh Abd. Samad al-Palimbani* 6<sup>th</sup> edition, Kuala Lumpur, Thinker’s Library Sdn. Bhd., 2003), p. 1.

<sup>67</sup> See Abdullah, Ma’moen, “Masuk dan Berkembangnya Agama Islam pada Zaman Kesultanan Palembang: Satu Analisis” in Gadjahnata, K.H.O. and Swasono, Sri-Edi (eds.), *Masuk dan Berkembangnya Islam di Sumatera Selatan* (Jakarta, Penerbit Universitas Indonesia, 1986), p. 37; Quzwain, *Mengenal Allah*, p. 2.

<sup>68</sup> Drewes (d. 1992), G. W. J., *Directions for Travellers on The Mystic Path* (The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1977), pp. 219-29. See below, Chapter 5.

<sup>69</sup> See Ronkel (d. 1954), Philippus S. van, *Catalogus Der Maleische Handschriften in Het Museum Van Het Bataviaasch Genootschap Van Kunsten En Wetenschappen* (Batavia, Albrecht & Co.; Hague, Nijhoff, 1909), p. 423; Winstedt, *A History of Classical Malay Literature*, p. 152.

<sup>70</sup> See Kemas, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, *Nafaḥāt ar-Raḥmān fī Manāqib Ustādhinā al-A’zam as-Sammān* (MS Jakarta National Library), W. 126, pp. 3, 10, 17, 19, 21, 39, 52, 53, 55, 69.

<sup>71</sup> See Kemas, *Nafaḥāt ar-Raḥmān*, pp. 66-8.

<sup>72</sup> See Johns, “Islam in the Malay World” pp. 127-8.

<sup>73</sup> Other ‘ulamā’ not mentioned above are Ḥasan ad-Dīn b. Ja‘far al-Falimbānī, Ṭayyib b. Ja‘far al-Falimbānī, Maṣṣūr b. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Falimbānī, ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Maḥmūd al-Falimbānī, Abū al-Azhār Tāj al-Umanā’ Kinān b. Maḥmūd al-Falimbānī, and *Shaykh al-Islām Qādī as-Salṭanah* as-Sayyid ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alawī b. Aḥmad al-‘Aydarūs al-Falimbānī. As we shall see later, most of these scholars have frequently appeared in al-Fādānī’s works especially on the *Jāwī ‘ulamā’*. Cf his *al-‘Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 2, 3, 5, 7, 13, 14, 17, passim; idem, *al-Arba‘ūn al-Buldāniyyah*, p. 66; idem, *al-Wāfī bi-Dhayl Tidhkār al-Maṣāfī* (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Beirut, Dār al-Bashā’ir al-Islāmiyyah, 1408/1988), pp. 5, 7, 9, 10, 12, passim; idem, *al-Fayḍ ar-Raḥmānī bi-Ijāzat Faḍīlat ash-Shaykh Muḥammad Taqī al-‘Uthmānī* (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Beirut, Dār al-Bashā’ir al-Islāmiyyah, 1406/1986), p. 12.



## Abbreviations

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AS	<i>Asiatische Studien/Etudes Asiatiques</i>
BKI	<i>Bijdragen Tot De Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde</i>
BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
EI	<i>The Encyclopaedia of Islam</i>
EI <sup>2</sup>	<i>The Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition</i>
GAL	<i>Geschichte Arabischen Litterature</i>
JAAS	<i>Journal of Asian and African Studies</i>
JMBRAS	<i>Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
JSBRAS	<i>Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
SAW	<i>ṣallallāhu ‘alayhi wa sallam</i> literally means, ‘peace be upon him’ (P.B.U.H) is said whenever the name of Prophet Muhammad is mentioned



## A Note on Technicality

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As a rule in this book, to differentiate between the '*ulamā*' of *Jāwī* or of Arab origins who had migrated and settled down in the Archipelago, from their peers in the Arab world, 'al-Jāwī' is added to their existing *nisbah* (attribution). This is to indicate and immediately distinguish these scholars especially if their *nisbah* is not familiar to the reader. However, if these *Jāwī* scholars are from the modern period, e.g. after the independence of Indonesia in 1945 and Malaysia in 1957, the *nisbah* al-Indūnīsī or al-Malīzī is added instead of al-Jāwī, respectively.

For Arabic book titles, an approximate translation is given immediately in parenthesis but only in the first instance, and is also available in the bibliography.

As for the conversion of the A.H. to A.D., I have used the date-conversion program software issued by the Astronomical Department, Kolej Ugama Sultan Zainal Abidin (KUSZA), Terengganu, Malaysia, which was given during my study for the 'Certificate of Islamic Astronomy' program. However, as some of the months of the A.H. years in this study are often not provided by biographers, the dating according to the A.D. cannot be precisely indicated in such instances.





# Chapter 1

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## Review of Sources and Contemporary Studies

Before this study proceeds to discuss al-Falimbānī's life and works, it is necessary to undertake a brief overview of the relevant primary sources and modern studies. The purpose of this chapter is firstly, to discuss the extent of relevant research previously carried out in this field, particularly the existing knowledge of 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī himself, his works and his contemporaries. Secondly, this chapter highlights additional sources which were not utilised in previous studies. This includes his own works, biographical notices of al-Falimbānī by his students and later generations, and works by his contemporaries. Lastly, this chapter also introduces later Malay works which provide information regarding his early life and travels.

This chapter thus outlines the major sources and previous studies used as a basis in this study before progressing in later chapters to provide a new perspective on al-Falimbānī's life and surviving works.

## Studies and Sources on 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī

There are very scanty materials in Arabic and Malay concerning 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī's life and personality. Existing studies of sources known to scholars tell us that al-Falimbānī was a scholar from Palembang, South Sumatra, who went to study in Mecca and Medina in the second half of the eighteenth century, and that his fields of study as made evident from his few known works were Islamic Theology (*Uṣūl ad-dīn*), Islamic Jurisprudence (*Fiqh*), and finally, Ṣūfism (*Taṣawwuf*). However, it is possible to identify many of his own works that have not been utilised by

modern scholars. These include mainly unpublished manuscripts and a few of his own published works. As a result of my examination of these manuscripts in addition to his published works, fresh details of ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī’s life and his roles as scholar and *Ṣūfī* are brought to light and can now assist in reconstructing his biographical sketch.

## Contemporary Studies on ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī and His Context

As pointed out earlier, there are very limited studies concerning ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī’s life and contributions. Nevertheless, there are some references to him and some of his known writings in certain articles or studies. A review of these articles and contemporary studies in chronological order will help to comprehend the current available scholarly literature pertaining to al-Falimbānī’s life and reveal the extent of historical background and writings known to these studies.

Perhaps the first most important study of the *Jāwī* community which remains an essential source for the *Jāwī* ‘*ulamā*’ is the classic work of the Dutch scholar, Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936). His detailed description based on direct observation of the Muslims in Mecca in general, and the *Jāwī* community in particular during his stay in Jeddah and Mecca during 1884-1885, may be considered a model for ethnographical studies. Based on his personal observation and experience, he published his work, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century*, which probably is the first of its kind by a western scholar who observed and studied the intellectual cultural history of Islam from the very heart of the Muslim world, the significance of Islam in the daily life of its believers, the traditional Islamic learning system in one of its most esteemed centres, and the *Jāwī* community in Mecca. This work includes the history of Mecca up to 1887 which the author adapted from formerly unknown Arabic sources to those of western scholars which he had been able to acquire in Mecca; a detailed description of the public life, home life and the traditional Islamic learning of various religious disciplines, especially in the sacred mosque of Mecca (*al-Masjid al-Ḥarām*), and

the activities of the *Jāwī* community who formed a large group in the cosmopolitan life of the Holy City.<sup>1</sup>

Perhaps the main reason for studying the life and activities of the *Jāwī* community was the desire to know to what extent did Mecca influence the spiritual life of the *Jāwīs* and their influence on their fellow countrymen by means of direct contact during the pilgrimage; such knowledge was beneficial to the Dutch East Indies's government as Snouck Hurgronje was appointed as an adviser to the Dutch Colonial Office in 1891. Nevertheless, such study and information is useful for students of Islamic studies as it provides a foundation to understand this field of study. Though the study of the history of Islam and Islamic scholars have been known in the Islamic tradition since the early Islamic centuries, Snouck Hurgronje's work is perhaps a pioneering work to the Western world to manifest the importance of such studies. He definitely opened up the door to the outside world and inspired other Western scholars to study cultural aspects of Islam, in particular the works and intellectual life of the *Jāwī* '*ulamā*'.

Although Snouck Hurgronje lived about a century after the period under study, he did make some remarks on al-Falimbānī in passing, telling us that he was a famous author from Palembang who lived in Mecca a century ago.<sup>2</sup> However, his descriptions of the *Jāwī* community especially their scholars whom he came in contact with during his stay is of importance to this study, as some of these scholars were from the surviving generation of 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī's students. In addition, his observations on the traditional Islamic learning system in the Holy City, the teaching career of the *Jāwī* teachers and learning activities of the *Jāwī* students is very useful as it gives us a lively picture of their daily life and activities which perhaps had not changed much since the period of 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī himself.

The first contemporary Western scholar to have provided us with the biography of 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī was perhaps the Dutch linguist, Petrus Voorhoeve (1899-1996), a student of Snouck Hurgronje. He wrote a short entry in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* under the title "'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Falimbānī."<sup>3</sup> The ascription of 'Abd Allāh as the father of al-Falimbānī is erroneous as can be seen in the next chapter. However, apart from informing us that he was a scholar from Palembang



in Sumatra, and was a pupil of Muḥammad as-Sammān, the founder of the Sammāniyyah order, and seems to have lived mostly in Arabia, this work does not furnish us with any information on his background. Nevertheless, Voorhoeve provides a list and briefly describes five of his writings, which he adapts from the descriptive manuscript catalogue by ‘the librarian and keeper of the Muḥammadan manuscripts’ in Batavia, Philippus Samuel van Ronkel (1870-1954).<sup>4</sup>

The first from Voorhoeve’s list is *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, then one of his earliest writings, *Zuhrat al-Murīd*,<sup>5</sup> then *Hidāyat al-Sālikīn*, *al-‘Urwat al-Wuthqā wa-Silsilat ūlī ‘l-Ittiqā*,<sup>6</sup> and lastly *Naṣīḥat al-Muslimīn*, which Voorhoeve claims to contain “fervent admonitions to holy war against infidels. It inspired the author of the Acehese poem *Hikayat Prang Sabi*, of which various redactions were circulated in Aceh during the war against the Dutch in the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.”<sup>7</sup>

Another brief account on al-Falimbānī was also written by Sir Richard Olof Winstedt (1878-1966). His writing primarily deals with the history of classical Malay literature which includes religious tracts and their authors, listing eight authors in chronological sequence, including ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī, discussed briefly in two short paragraphs. However, like Voorhoeve, he does not furnish us with any information on his life background.<sup>8</sup> Winstedt only enumerates three principal writings of ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī, his *Zahrat al-Murīd*, *Hidāyat al-Sālikīn* and *Sayr as-Sālikīn*.

A study on ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī was later undertaken by a Malaysian scholar, Muhammad ‘Uthman El-Muhammady. In his paper “The Islamic concept of education according to Shaykh ‘Abdu’s-Samad of Palembang and its significance in relation to the issue of personality integration,” he attempts to discern the salient features of the Islamic educational doctrine and method according to the *Ṣūfī* tradition as expressed by ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī. According to him al-Falimbānī saw the educational process as the process of purifying the base metal of the fallen soul from all the dross by means of spiritual alchemy available in the Islamic tradition hence transmuting it into a soul of gold which glitters with the spiritual virtues. El-Muhammady also points out that it is *Tawḥīd* which forms the foundation of all *Ṣūfī*

metaphysics and that it was the misunderstanding of this central doctrine that led some scholars of Ṣūfism to accuse it of pantheism. Furthermore, he elaborates the doctrine of the seven grades of *naḥs* (soul) which the human soul has to experience in its journey to the Absolute and to the attainment of perfection.<sup>9</sup>

However on al-Falimbānī's life account, El-Muhammady's study does not provide us with much information as it only tells us that he lived an active literary life in Mecca and aṭ-Ṭā'if in Arabia extended from the year 1178/1765 to 1203/1789, a fact which was already widely known to scholars dealing with this subject. From these dates, he asserts that al-Falimbānī went to study in Mecca, Arabia in the second half of the eighteenth century. He mentions two of his most known teachers, the renowned Ṣūfī saint (*walī*) of Medina, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān, his spiritual guide, and the Egyptian scholar Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Mun'im ad-Damānhūrī from whom he heard the lecture on dogmatic theology, which he noted down in his *Zahrāt al-Murīd*.

On al-Falimbānī's writings, El-Muhammady enumerates six of them, adding one further writing to the list of Voorhoeve, *Rātib 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad*. He incorrectly transcribes al-Falimbānī's most significant work as *Siyaru's-Sālikīn fī Ṭarīqah aṣ-Ṣādāt as-Sūfiyah*,<sup>10</sup> instead of being his *Sayr as-Sālikīn*. Following previous literatures, he describes *Sayr as-Sālikīn* as being a translation of al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm ad-Dīn*, "containing considerable amount of original materials based on his investigation" and addition from other sources.<sup>11</sup> Likewise with al-Falimbānī's *Hidāyat as-Sālikīn*, based on al-Ghazālī's *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah*.

In addition, El-Muhammady also mentions *Naṣīḥat al-Muslimīn wa-Tadhkirat al-Mu'minīn fī Faḍā'il al-Jihād*. However all these writings, besides the *Rātib*, have already been mentioned by previous scholars, so, there is no new information on al-Falimbānī's life and writings which can be extracted from El-Muhammady's study.

Another contemporary scholar who also wrote about al-Falimbānī was G. W. J. Drewes (1899-1992), a student of Snouck Hurgronje. As already demonstrated earlier, he provides an appendix on Palembang manuscripts and its authors in the eighteenth century, listing eleven authors including 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī himself, together with seven writings credited to him.<sup>12</sup>

Drewes's work focuses on *Kitāb Faṭḥ ar-Raḥmān*, Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī's commentary on Walī Raslān ad-Dimashqī's *Risālah fī 'l-Tawḥīd*, and its Malay adaptations. It is worth mentioning that in this work, Drewes includes a Malay Epistle (*risalah*) composed by another Palembang author, Shihāb ad-Dīn, sometime during the 1750's as well as providing his own summary in English. Starting with the interpretation of manifest and hidden polytheism as given by Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī in his *Faṭḥ ar-Raḥmān*, this epistle quotes both Walī Raslān and al-Anṣārī as authoritative, and expresses an admonitory spirit. Its purpose is to check the spread of the *Ṣūfī*'s doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd*, commonly known among the masses as the 'seven grades' (*martabat tujuh*) that have such a wide circulation in the Malay Archipelago, and to warn against the rampant neglect of religious observances resulting from its influence which have led the *Jāwī* to go astray.<sup>13</sup> Hence from the information in this epistle, one can comprehend the historical background of the socio-religious environment in the Malay Archipelago and Palembang in particular during the eighteenth century, which coincide with the period of 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī's lifetime.

On al-Falimbānī's life, Drewes asserts that he took up residence in Mecca most probably in the early sixties of the eighteenth century, where all of his works were written here or in aṭ-Ṭā'if, the mountain city south east of Mecca with its cool climate which has been the summer residence of well-to-do Meccans throughout the centuries. Drewes states that it was unknown whether al-Falimbānī ever returned to his native country. However, from the two letters which al-Falimbānī wrote in 1772 to introduce and recommend two returning religious scholars from Mecca to the prince of Central Java, Drewes points out that he must have enjoyed considerable fame as a scholar during his life-time.<sup>14</sup> Thus he was able to take advantage of his position to recommend to the Royal court the two religious figures who most probably were his own disciples and who had completed their studies in Mecca under his guidance and were looking for religious offices in Java.

The two letters written by al-Falimbānī and sent to Java were intended for the Sultān of Mataram, Sri Sultān Hamengkubuwono I (r. 1749-1792), previously prince Mangkubumi, and Susuhunan Prabu Jaka alias Pangeran Singasari, a son of Amangkurat IV (r. 1719-1726),



and consequently a half-brother of prince Mangkubumi, respectively. According to Drewes, the documents were unearthed by Dr. M. C. Ricklefs (then of London) apparently in early 1970s from the Dutch Colonial Archives during his study on the history of Yogyakarta in the reign of Sulṭān Mangkubumi. However, these documents were not the letters themselves but the Dutch rendition of the Javanese translations of the Arabic originals which had been dispatched from Mecca to the Javanese princes and were intercepted by the Dutch authorities in Semarang.<sup>15</sup> It is very unfortunate that we do not know the precise contents of the original Arabic letters that are lost, presumably destroyed by the Dutch authorities in Semarang, which perhaps would have shed more information on al-Falimbānī himself.

Based on the evidence that ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī maintained contacts with his native land, Drewes unhesitatingly concludes that a treatise entitled *Tuḥfat ar-Rāghibīn fī Bayān Ḥaqīqat Īmān al-Mu’minīn wa-mā Yuḥsidulu min Riddat al-Murtaddīn* by an anonymous author, in all probability was composed by al-Falimbānī and written at the request of the Sulṭān of Palembang. He further supported his conclusion based on Voorhoeve’s comments on a manuscript copy of this work which he claims had many indications that the author was ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī. Strongly agreeing with Voorhoeve’s claim, Drewes further added that from the wording of the introduction one could infer that *Tuḥfat ar-Rāghibīn* was written at the behest of the Palembang court.<sup>16</sup>

This treatise, as can be seen later in the discussion on al-Falimbānī’s writings, was wrongly ascribed to him by both Voorhoeve and Drewes. The evidence from this study strongly indicates that *Tuḥfat ar-Rāghibīn* was not authored by al-Falimbānī but by his contemporary Muḥammad Arshad al-Banjārī.

However, of the seven listed writings of al-Falimbānī which Drewes cited from Winstedt’s, Voorhoeve’s and El-Muhammady’s works – four were in Malay, including the wrongly attributed *Tuḥfat ar-Rāghibīn* and three in Arabic – no new addition is provided to the list.<sup>17</sup>

In a Romanised edition of ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī’s *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, the French philologist Henri Chambert-Loir contributed an article titled “Abdussamad Al-Falimbani Sebagai Ulama Jawi” as an introduction to this edition. In this article, Chambert-Loir attempts to



construct a biographical sketch of ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī based on extracts from other contemporary scholars’ works such as Drewes, Voorhoeve, Wan Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah and others but without using original Arabic or Malay sources.<sup>18</sup>

According to Chambert-Loir, despite al-Falimbānī’s writing being considerably small in number, he was one of the renowned *Jāwī* scholars in the eighteenth century. Though his biographical account is more likely to be fable than factual, he is primarily known for his important role in introducing al-Ghazālī’s works to the Malay world as well as spreading the teachings of as-Sammān. Following the emergence of scholars in Aceh during the early seventeenth century, the eighteenth century witnessed the rise of scholars from different parts of the Archipelago. It is obvious, as Chambert-Loir points out, that al-Falimbānī was contemporaneous to other important *Jāwī* scholars such as Muḥammad Arshad al-Banjārī, Muḥammad Nafīs al-Banjārī, Dāwūd b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, and ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Batāwī al-Miṣrī, as all of them studied during the same time in Mecca. However, each of them played a different role in their homeland. For instance, Dāwūd al-Faṭānī who is known as a prolific author and whose teachings have spread widely through his writings which have been frequently published and probably the largest in the archipelago. By contrast, ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Batāwī was only known in Batavia and his teachings did not spread through his writings.

The main contribution of Chambert-Loir is that he observed that details on al-Falimbānī’s life can be known by extracting pieces of information scattered in his writings, as he normally supplies the dates and places where he completes them. Unfortunately, he did not accomplish this because he did not consult any primary sources. He mentions that there are two common assumptions made regarding al-Falimbānī’s life: the first is that he died after completing his final volume of *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, and the second is that he never returned to the Archipelago. Both of these points will be discussed and in details challenged in the next chapter. Finally, Chambert-Loir gives a brief description of seven works of al-Falimbānī. These are all already mentioned earlier by his predecessors. He follows Voorhoeve and Drewes in attributing *Tuḥfat ar-Rāghibīn* to al-Falimbānī, a work claimed to be written on behest of Sulṭān of Palembang.<sup>19</sup>

Anthony H. Johns who has published several studies on Islam and Sūfism in the Malay Archipelago have also mentioned ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī in some of his writings. In his article “Islam in the Malay World: An Exploratory Survey with some reference to Quranic Exegesis,” he mentioned three scholars of Palembang in the eighteenth century together with their writings including ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī himself.<sup>20</sup> However, all the information on these three scholars and their works were adopted from Drewes’s works, thus no new material or additional information is furnished in Johns’s work.

Johns listed only four writings of al-Falimbānī: his *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, *Hidāyat al-Sālikīn*, his *Zahrāt al-Murīd*, which Johns described as a Malay work on *manṭiq* and *uṣūl ad-dīn* based on a lecture given by Aḥmad ad-Damanhūrī in Mecca, without providing its title, and finally his Arabic *Naṣīḥat al-Muslimīn*.

Apparently, Johns believes that ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad must have died in *al-Ḥaramayn* as he points out that unlike ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf as-Sinkīlī who returned home, al-Falimbānī was characteristic of the religious teachers from the Archipelago who preferred to die in the holy land despite his deep concern for his compatriots back in Sumatra. On supporting this, Johns mentions that Ṣiddīq b. ‘Umar Khān al-Madanī wrote a commentary on Muḥammad as-Sammān’s *Qaṣīdat an-Naṣīḥat al-Qudsiyyah*,<sup>21</sup> at al-Falimbānī’s request, a commentary intended for his fellow Muslims in Palembang. Besides this there is no new information on al-Falimbānī and his writings, which we already know from the writings of previous scholars.

The Indonesian scholar M. Chatib Quzwain, has paid some attention to al-Falimbānī. He first wrote a seminar paper titled “Syeikh ‘Abd al-Shamad al-Palimbani: Suatu studi mengenai perkembangan Islam di Palembang dalam Abad ke 18 Masehi,” a study on the historical development of Islam in Palembang in the eighteenth century based on ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī’s life and writings.<sup>22</sup> This article was compiled with other papers and later published as a book on the history of the introduction of Islam in South Sumatra. Quzwain begins by introducing the history of Islamic development in the Sultanate of Palembang from the fifteenth until the eighteenth century, simultaneously

highlighting al-Falimbānī's life and role in the development of Islam in Palembang.

On the historical background of al-Falimbānī, Quzwain assumes his date of birth was 1115/1703 or 1116/1704, which he claims was deduced from the traditional account of al-Falimbānī in *Tawārīkh Silsilah Negeri Kedah*. He maintains that when al-Falimbānī wrote his magnum opus, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, which he began in 1193/1779, his age would have been around seventy five years, an age he considered still possible to produce such extensive writings. However, according to my research this deduction is inaccurate as we will see later in the next chapter.

Quzwain also concludes that al-Falimbānī died not long after completing his *Sayr as-Sālikīn* in 1203/1788 and was buried in his homeland Palembang; his shrine still being visited by the locals for votive offerings up to the present day. However, some of al-Falimbānī's life accounts including his activities and teachings presented by Quzwain contradict my own findings. For instance, he claims that al-Falimbānī had never mentioned whether he ever set foot to study at al-Masjid al-Ḥarām in Mecca and that he did not profess the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd*. It is clear from al-Falimbānī's own writings that he points out that he attended lectures at al-Masjid al-Ḥarām in Mecca and that he wrote an epistle to elucidate the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd* that he believed in.<sup>23</sup>

As a continuation of his previous writing, Quzwain further developed and expanded his study to be presented as his doctoral thesis which was later revised and published as *Mengenal Allah: Suatu Kajian Mengenai Ajaran Tasawuf Syaikh Abdus-Samad al-Palimbani*. In this work, the author gives special attention to al-Falimbānī's *Ṣūfī* ideas and teachings which he examined from his two best known works, *Hidāyat as-Sālikīn* and *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, analysing the influence of both al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) and Ibn al-ʿArabī (638/1240).<sup>24</sup> In addition to the seven writings credited by Drewes to al-Falimbānī, Quzwain added another title, namely *Zād al-Muttaqīn*, which he mentioned was extracted from *Sayr as-Sālikīn*.<sup>25</sup> However, biographical information on al-Falimbānī was a replication of his previous writing with nothing new. One of the main points he maintains in his work is that al-Falimbānī started his writing career and completed his first work, *Zahrat al-Murīd* in 1178/1765 at around sixty years of age. He attempted to justify his position but as



we shall see later, this opinion is based on a number of compounded errors.

Another Indonesian scholar, Azyumardi Azra, already noted earlier, has undertaken a more comprehensive study of the scholarly networks in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries connecting the *Jāwī* '*ulamā*' and the Arab world. His book, first published in Malay and later in English is based mostly on his 1992 PhD dissertation.<sup>26</sup>

As mentioned earlier, this work is primarily a systematic and comprehensive analysis of the networks connecting '*ulamā*' in the Malay Archipelago and the Arab world in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Since 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī was one of the prominent *Jāwī* '*ulamā*' in the eighteenth century, a short biographical notice on his career was included in a five-page discussion in Azra's work. While furnishing us with al-Falimbānī's biographical account, Azra refers to several Arabic biographical dictionaries that provide accounts relating to him and in doing so he is the first scholar writing in English who to my knowledge had called attention to 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī's career in Zabīd, Yemen, and to indicate the existing entry on him as recorded by his student 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal in his *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*. However, Azra did not utilise this work as he was unable to consult the original work (*an-Nafas*) since he could find neither manuscript nor printed edition of it, and had to rely on a six-page description of it given by al-Kattānī in his *Fahrās*.<sup>27</sup> Further discussion on al-Ahdal's *an-Nafas al-Yamānī* and al-Kattānī's *Fahrās* is undertaken below.

Furthermore, Azra claims that out of all the available sources, only the *Tawārīkh Silsilah Negeri Kedah* supplies the date of al-Falimbānī's birth and death. According to him, this work tells us that al-Falimbānī was born about 1116/1704 in Palembang to a Sayyid father and a Palembang woman, hence corroborates the Arabic sources which he claims to have mention that al-Falimbānī was a Sayyid. He also points out that al-Falimbānī's father was said to have come from Ṣan'ā', Yemen, and travelled widely in India and Java before taking up residence in Kedah where he was later appointed as the *Qāḍī* (judge). He further asserts that about 1112/1700, his father went to Palembang where he married a local woman and returned to Kedah with his new born son, 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad.



Azra points out that according to al-Bayṭār, al-Falimbānī died after 1200/1785, thus he assumed that probably he died in 1203/1789, the date of completion of his final and most acclaimed work, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*. He disagrees with the *Tawārīkh Silsilah* which indicates that he was killed in the war against the Thais in 1244/1828, and claims that there is no evidence in other sources to indicate that al-Falimbānī ever returned to the Archipelago and that he would then have been about 124 years old; too old to go to the battlefield. He concluded that al-Falimbānī must have died in 1203/1789 as there is a strong suggestion, according to him that he died in Arabia, but he fails to mention any source.

Azra was the first, to my knowledge, to have consulted several Arabic sources for charting the *Jāwī* scholarly connections with the Arab world in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. However, I have found several inconsistencies regarding the biographical account of al-Falimbānī in his work. His conclusion not only contradicts the sources utilised for this study, but also the sources he himself consulted to deduce his outcome. This will be discussed more fully in the next chapter.

Finally, study on ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī was also undertaken by our contemporary Malaysian scholar, Haji Wan Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah (1945-2007). He spent a lifetime compiling information and works especially those written in Malay by *Jāwī* ‘*ulamā*’ and had published numerous books related to them. In doing so, perhaps he is one of the most active scholars working on the *Jāwī* authors and their writings. It is worth mentioning that Abdullah himself was the maternal grandson of the late nineteenth century Pattani (now in southern Thailand) ‘*ālim* and prolific author, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Zayn b. Muṣṭafā al-Faṭānī (1856-1908), with no less than forty works credited to him. During his stay in Mecca, Snouck Hurgronje met Aḥmad al-Faṭānī whom he described as ‘a savant of merits’ who was entrusted by the Ottoman governor of Mecca with the supervision of the Malay press in the Holy City.<sup>28</sup>

It was from his maternal grandfather, Aḥmad al-Faṭānī, that Abdullah inherited numerous manuscript copies either written by him or his predecessors such as Dāwūd al-Faṭānī. In addition to these copies, Abdullah also travelled around the Archipelago to collect such works with old published *Kitāb Jāwī* (Islamic literature written in Malay,

locally known as '*kitab kuning*'), and he thus had numerous copies in his personal collection.

However, Abdullah is strongly criticised by the Dutch anthropologist and author, Martin van Bruinessen who states that his works do not measure up to present standards of critical scholarship and have to be used cautiously.<sup>29</sup> This is certainly true of some of his works, especially his Malay transliteration of Arabic words, as he seems to have a limited command of the Arabic language itself; his writings also often lack critical analysis. He frequently provides information claimed to be based on oral evidence from traditional knowledge handed down from generation to generation or based on manuscript copies held in his personal collection; both of these are very difficult to verify. Furthermore, several of his writings suffer from a number of inconsistencies, contradicting one another or other reliable sources, as we will see shortly. I have personally tried to request on numerous occasions relevant copies from Abdullah's manuscript collections but to no avail. Nevertheless, his writings present much materials that are not readily available or easily accessible elsewhere.

His first monograph on 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī was his book *Syeikh Abdush Shamad Al-Falimbani: Shufi yang Syahid fi Sabilillah*. In this work, Abdullah makes his first full attempt to introduce 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī as one of the scholars of the Malay Archipelago, and tries to sketch his historical background. In doing so he relies heavily on the previously mentioned study by El-Muhammady and Muhammad's *Tawārīkh Silsilah*, for a traditional Malay account of al-Falimbānī. Other than his own additions not mentioned in *Tawārīkh Silsilah*, the rest are generally replications of what have been discussed and noted earlier. However, his additions are more likely to be his personal assumptions rather than factual deductions as we can see his numerous claims, such as 'Abd al-Jalīl send his son al-Falimbānī to study at '*pondok*' (traditional religious school) in Pattani, southern Thailand, without providing any references and which cannot be verified from any sources. Furthermore, he claims that most of these additions are from his interview with older generations and based mostly on word of mouth that have been handed down by generations, hence impossible to be verified.<sup>30</sup>

According to Abdullah, upon completing his studies in his homeland, al-Falimbānī continued to study in Mecca for thirty years with his Malay friends, among the more well known are Muḥammad Arshad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Banjārī, ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Bugīsī, and ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Batāwī. Later, together with his friends, they travel to Medina where they studied for another five years, and among their teachers were Shaykh Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān and Shaykh Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī.

Abdullah believes that al-Falimbānī travelled back to the Archipelago twice. According to him, the first journey was with his three above mentioned friends as well as Dāwūd al-Faṭānī. They reached Penang, then Kedah, and thence travelled by land to Perak and Singapore. From the latter, they travelled further to Batavia (now Jakarta). It was from Batavia that all of them returned to their respective homelands; Muḥammad Arshad accompanied by ‘Abd al-Wahhāb travelled to Banjar, Dāwūd al-Faṭānī travelled to Pattani and ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī himself travelled back to Palembang. Abdullah does not provide any date for this travel and notes that al-Falimbānī did not stay long in Palembang as he soon returned to Mecca.<sup>31</sup>

The second journey, according to Abdullah, was upon completing his treatise on *jihād* entitled *Naṣīḥat al-Muslimīn*. However, al-Falimbānī did not go back to his homeland Palembang, instead he went to Kedah to meet his half brother ‘Abd al-Qādir who by that time had assumed the position of new state *mufī* to replace his late father ‘Abd al-Jalīl. A few years previously Kedah had been occupied by the Siamese and upon his arrival al-Falimbānī immediately join the *jihād* led by Tunku Muḥammad Sa’d to drive the Siamese out of Kedah. He was later killed on the battlefield, and hence Abdullah concludes that al-Falimbānī died in 1244/1828. Finally, Abdullah concludes his work by enumerating seven writings credited to al-Falimbānī, all those mentioned by Quzwain excluding the *Tuḥfat ar-Rāghibīn*.

Later, Abdullah published another book on al-Falimbānī entitled *Syeikh Abdus Shamad Palembang: Ulama Shufi dan Jihad Dunia Melayu*. This book as indicated by the author is a revised and updated version of his research, especially the writing discussed above. In his prologue, Abdullah points out that he disagrees with several of Azra’s claims in



his *Jaringan Ulama* which he argues did not provide any new findings on al-Falimbānī's life history nor on his writings.<sup>32</sup> Two examples of the disagreement with Azra are: firstly, the name of al-Falimbānī's father taken from four different sources, which are respectively, 'Abd al-Jalīl, Faqīh Ḥusayn, 'Abd Allāh and 'Abd ar-Raḥmān. Apart from 'Abd al-Jalīl which comes from the traditional account found in *Tawārīkh Silsilah*, Abdullah argues that the remaining names are based on several manuscripts that he possesses, including the name 'Abd ar-Raḥmān which Azra claims to have only come from Arabic sources. However, Abdullah himself did not investigate further in order to draw any conclusions regarding al-Falimbānī's genealogy.

Abdullah also strongly refuted claims by both Azra and Quzwain that al-Falimbānī was born in 1116/1704 as this does not corroborate with *Tawārīkh Silsilah* which both claim as their source of reference. However, Abdullah once again does not provide any suggestion or carry out further investigation to resolve this dispute. Abdullah also provides some *isnāds* of al-Falimbānī which he replicates from al-Fādānī's *al-Iqd al-Farīd*, but unfortunately does not elaborate any further on any of the teachers mentioned in these *isnāds*.

Similar to his earlier writing on the biographical account of al-Falimbānī, Abdullah points out his two travels back home, first to Palembang and the second to Kedah where he was reported to have been killed in a *jihād* against the Siamese. Similarly, he maintains that al-Falimbānī's return to Kedah was after completing his *Naṣīḥat al-Muslimīn*. However this is implausible as according to my finding this work was completed in Mecca in 1187/1773, decades before his actual travels to Kedah.

He concludes his book by listing the writings of al-Falimbānī. In addition to those already mentioned in his previous work, he adds *Anīs al-Muttaqīn* of which he claims to possess a manuscript copy in his personal collection. However, as we will see later, this work is wrongfully attributed to al-Falimbānī. Another writing that Abdullah lists is *Kitāb al-Isrā' wa 'l-Mi'rāj* which he claims was completed in 1201/1786, but according to my research, this work is correctly entitled *Risālah Laṭīfah fī Bayān al-Isrā' wa 'l-Mi'rāj* and was completed in Mecca in 1181/1767.<sup>33</sup>



Abdullah also published two of al-Falimbānī's writings, his *al-Urwat al-Wuthqā* and *Hidāyat as-Sālikīn*.<sup>34</sup> These two writings are the Malay transliteration of the *Jāwī* manuscript copies kept in his personal collection. Apart from telling us that from one of the manuscript copies, al-Falimbānī was described as 'a martyr on the path of God' (*shahīd fī sabīl Allāh*), both works do not provide us with additional information on al-Falimbānī's life.

Thus, from the review of contemporary scholarly writings, we observe that despite much interest there is limited information on 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī's life, writings and historical background.

## Sources Relevant to Biographical Account of al-Falimbānī

### Al-Falimbānī's Own Writings

The first and most obvious category of sources we can rely on to learn about al-Falimbānī's intellectual life and scholarly activities are the writings of the author himself. Though al-Falimbānī himself does not provide us with explicit account of his life in any of his writings, what can be extracted from them have been very useful in sketching his intellectual biographical account. Al-Falimbānī is one of the *Jāwī* authors who usually provides us with some information on his literary activities such as the places and dates when he began his writings or completed them. Often, he also provides us with the names of his teachers in his writings which gives us clear indication as to when he studied with them.

From such dates and places, we know that al-Falimbānī's three earliest known writings were his *Zahrāt al-Murīd* which he completed in Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1178/June 1765, followed by *Risālah fī Bayān Asbāb Muḥarramāt an-Nikāḥ* completed in Rabī' al-Awwal 1179/August 1765, and *Risālah Laṭīfah fī Bayān al-Isrā' wa 'l-Mi'rāj* completed in Rajab 1181/December 1767, all three of them written in Mecca. The next dated writings are his *Naṣīḥat al-Muslimīn wa-Tadhkirat al-Mu'minīn*, a treatise on *jihād* completed in Mecca, in Jumādā al-Ūlā 1187/August 1773. *Hidāyat as-Sālikīn* was completed in Mecca, in Muharram 1192/

February 1778 and *Sayr as-Sālikīn* was completed in four stages: the first volume in Mecca early 1194/1780, the second completed in aṭ-Ṭā'if in 1195/1781, the third completed in Mecca in 1197/1783, and the fourth and final volume completed in aṭ-Ṭā'if in 1203/1789.

It is by critically examining these dates that I have been able to conclude that after completing his third work, *Risālah Laṭīfah*, he travelled to Medina to study with Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān. As we will see in the next chapter, he was reported to have studied in Medina for five years, therefore he must have studied with as-Sammān between the years 1181/1767 and 1187/1773. This is made obvious in his own writings. Unlike all his works written in or after 1187/1773, where he never fails to mention his teacher as-Sammān whom he venerated highly, his first three writings not only fail to mention as-Sammān's name but also give a clear indication that he had not met him and was not yet his student by that time (prior to 1187/1773).

Furthermore, from his *Zahrāt al-Murīd*, I have been able to glean the names of some of his teachers who have not been mentioned in any modern studies. What is known to contemporary studies from this work was that al-Falimbānī attended the lectures of the Egyptian scholar Aḥmad ad-Damanhūrī at al-Masjid al-Ḥarām during the *Hajj* season but his teachers mentioned in this treatise such as 'Abd al-Ghanī b. Muḥammad al-Hilāl al-Makkī, 'Aṭā Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Miṣrī and Aḥmad b. Aḥmad as-Siblāwī, have never been noted in contemporary studies.

However, as further discussion on al-Falimbānī's biography, teachers and writings will follow in the following chapters, it suffices to say here that critical analysis of al-Falimbānī's own writings has provided this study with information not known to contemporary scholarship and helped the reconstruction of his intellectual biography.

## Arabic and Malay Sources by al-Falimbānī's Contemporaries

Apart from al-Falimbānī's own writings, the next available sources for his intellectual life and scholarly activities are the writings of his contemporaries and students. Though the writings of his contemporaries do not directly provide us with information on al-Falimbānī's life, they

however furnish us with information on the socio-religious environment of his age. This can be seen for instance from the writings of his contemporaries such as Muḥammad Arshad al-Banjārī's classification of the groups that deviated from the correct understanding of the *Ṣūfī*'s doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd*, and another Palembang author, Shihāb ad-Dīn who tells us in his *risalah* about the spread of *waḥdat al-wujūd* among the masses which have such a wide circulation in the Malay Archipelago, and to warn against the rampant neglect of religious observances resulting from its influence which have lead the *Jāwī* to go astray.<sup>35</sup> Thus from these sources, we can extract information on the religious environment in the Archipelago, and Palembang in particular during the period he lived.

On the other hand, the writings of some of al-Falimbānī's students provide us with additional details and insights about his activity as a teacher. This is particularly true of one of his closest students, Wajīh ad-Dīn 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān al-Ahdal al-Yamanī (d. 1250/1834). Among his best known writings is his compilation of his teachers in his *an-Nafas al-Yamānī wa 'r-Rawḥ ar-Rayḥānī fī Ijāzat al-Qudāt Banī ash-Shawkānī*.<sup>36</sup> It is worth mentioning that though this work strongly resembles a biographical dictionary, it is in fact his *thabat*, as he only compiles the list of his teachers and their teachers together with the books he read with them. It differs from an ordinary biographical dictionary in that it only lists his own teachers who were originally from Zabīd and later gave *ijāzah* for this work to the three ash-Shawkānīs. As a rule, granting *ijāzah* does not apply to any biographical dictionary compilations. In his prologue, al-Ahdal tells us that this *thabat* was written to fulfil the request of the three judges from the ash-Shawkānī family, 'Alī and Aḥmad, both sons of his teacher, Muḥammad b. 'Alī ash-Shawkānī and his brother Yaḥyā b. 'Alī ash-Shawkānī, all of them requested that he give them his written *ijāzah*. Apart from listing his own teachers and their teachers, this work of al-Ahdal also provides their biographical notices and he divides them into three *ṭabaqāt* according to the teachers they studied with. Hence, the first *ṭabaqah* is for his teachers who studied with his grandfather, Yaḥyā b. 'Umar al-Ahdal (d. 1147/1734), the second *ṭabaqah* for his teachers who studied with his maternal uncle, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Sharīf Maqbūl al-Ahdal (d. 1163/1749), and the third



*ṭabaqah* for his teachers who studied with his father, Sulaymān b. Yaḥyā al-Ahdal (d. 1197/1782). However, all three *ṭabaqāt* are specifically intended for his teachers who were originally from Zabīd as he termed them ‘*mashāyikhī min ahl Zabīd*.’

In addition to these three *ṭabaqāt*, the author also added another category of his teachers who were visiting scholars who taught in Zabīd, as he puts it: “*al-wāḥidīn ilā madīnat Zabīd*.” Among this latter category was ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī, who according to my findings also studied with both the author’s grandfather, Yaḥyā al-Ahdal and maternal uncle, Aḥmad al-Ahdal. Unfortunately, as the first three *ṭabaqāt* were only allocated for ‘*ulamā*’ of Zabīd origin, al-Falimbānī was not included in any of them. Perhaps, if these *ṭabaqāt* were not limited to scholars of Zabīd origin, we might have found further information on al-Falimbānī’s scholarship in Yemen, particularly in Zabīd itself, as he clearly had a very close teacher-student links to its scholars, especially the al-Ahdal family.

It should be noted that through this work ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal highlights the importance of Zabīd as a centre for Islamic learning and the role of its ‘*ulamā*’ in providing traditional Islamic instruction as well as a link to the wider scholarly network, particularly the al-Ahdal family themselves as they were not just instructors in the scholarly networks but as can be seen later, were also *mufīīs* of Zabīd for generations.

It should also be highlighted that this work is the first ever known Arabic source to provide us with the life account of a *Jāwī* scholar active in Yemen and in this case, that of ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī, the first ever known *Jāwī* scholar to have his life accounts recorded in such Arabic writings. This definitely reflects his prominent position among the ‘*ulamā*’ of his generation and particularly among his compatriots as none of them before him had ever earned this privilege. It certainly also indicates his respected career in Arabia and signifies that some of the *Jāwī* scholars have attained an equal rank with their Arab peers in Islamic instruction.

Since al-Ahdal’s work is the first to provide us with an account of the career of a *Jāwī* scholar in the Arab world, it is not surprising that contemporary scholars pay attention to this work. Among them is R. Michael Feener, who wrote an article introducing al-Ahdal’s *an-Nafas*



*al-Yamānī* together with his English translation of the entry on ‘Abd aş-Şamad al-Falimbānī.<sup>37</sup> However, as I found the translation unsatisfactory, I have provided my own translation of this biographical notice as an appendix to this study.<sup>38</sup> It may be appropriate at this stage to give a summary of al-Ahdal’s entry on al-Falimbānī in order to highlight the importance of this source.

Al-Ahdal says that among his teachers whom he counts under the category of *al-wāfīdīn* to Zabīd is “our Shaykh *al-‘allāmah* (the great scholar), *al-walī* (the saint), *al-fahhāmah* (the astute), *at-taqī* (the pious), *wajīh al-Islām* (notable of Islam), ‘Abd aş-Şamad b. ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Jāwī who arrived at the city of Zabīd in the year 1206/1791.” He adds that al-Falimbānī was among those who applied their knowledge to their life (*al-‘ulamā’ al-‘āmilīn*) and among those who had facility in virtually every aspect of the Islamic sciences (*al-muntafi‘īn fī sālir al-‘ulūm*). He studied with the scholars of his period, from among the people of *al-Ḥaramayn* such as ash-Shaykh al-‘Allāmah Ibrāhīm ar-Ra’īs, ash-Shaykh al-‘Allāmah Muḥammad Mirdād, ash-Shaykh al-‘Allāmah ‘Aṭā’ [Allāh] al-Miṣrī, ash-Shaykh al-‘Allāmah Muḥammad al-Jawharī, ash-Shaykh al-‘Allāmah Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī and others. He then turned towards Ṣūfīsm and directed most of his attention to studying and teaching al-Ghazālī’s *Iḥyā’ ‘Ulūm ad-Dīn* and he began to enjoin people (i.e. his students and his colleagues) to occupy themselves with this book and to glorify its significance, and to frequently highlight its virtues and benefits. He explained that the least of these benefits to those who occupy themselves with it and follow its teachings being that they discover their own faults, shortcomings and limitations. Thereafter they are granted success and protection from conceit by God, the Great and Almighty. According to al-Ahdal, when al-Falimbānī arrived in Zabīd, he continued to increase his exhortations on studying the *Iḥyā’* and al-Ahdal read with him the beginning of every quarter of the book and asked him for an *ijāzah* of the whole book to teach to gain benefit from its knowledge. Al-Falimbānī then granted him a lengthy *ijāzah* which he wrote for him in his own noble handwriting.<sup>39</sup>

In brief, it is from this source that we are able to extract crucial information on some of ‘Abd aş-Şamad al-Falimbānī’s activities as a teacher in Zabīd as well as information on his date of arrival in Zabīd,

his *al-Ḥaramayn*'s teachers, his erudition and his personality. However, it does not furnish us further with information on his earlier life such as his studies, his teachers other than those in *al-Ḥaramayn*, his sojourn in Zabīd during his studies and teaching career, his students, his writings and his death. Nevertheless, all the available information definitely enables us to reconstruct a more precise biographical sketch of al-Falimbānī and his scholarly activity.

It is important to point out that it was from al-Ahdal's *an-Nafas al-Yamānī* that al-Falimbānī's biography was later reproduced by a number of compilers. These include, in chronological order Ṣiddīq b. Ḥasan al-Qannūjī's (1248-1307/1832-89) *at-Tāj al-Mukallal*.<sup>40</sup> According to the author in his prologue, this work is written about a group of scholars who have affiliation with the science of *Ḥadīth* and those who were among its practicing scholars. He compiled more than five hundred and forty biographical notices on scholars of *Ḥadīth* from the early Islamic centuries including great scholars such as the founders of the four schools of Islamic jurisprudence (*Madhhab*): Imām Mālik, Imām Abū Ḥanīfah, Imām Shāfi'ī and Imām Aḥmad, and also includes all the authors of *Ḥadīth* books, such as al-Bukhārī, Muslim, Abū Dāwūd, at-Tirmidhī, an-Nasā'ī, Ibn Mājah, al-Ḥākim, and later centuries such as Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, as-Suyūṭī and as-Sakhāwī. This work also includes renowned *Ṣūfī* scholars such as 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, al-Ghazālī and 'Abd al-Wahhāb ash-Sha'rānī.

The author then follows with scholars of later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries from Mecca, Medina, Egypt, Yemen and Maghrib, up to his period, such as the Meccan *muḥaddith* 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī, the renowned *muḥaddith* of Ṣan'ā', Yemen, Muḥammad ash-Shawkānī, scholars of Zabīd including the three generations of al-Ahdal family, Yaḥyā, Sulaymān and 'Abd ar-Raḥmān, and others. Among those also included is 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī, and again he is the only *Jāwī* scholar found in this literature. It is important to note that for most of the entries for scholars from the twelfth and thirteenth A.H. (eighteenth and nineteenth centuries A.D.) onwards, the author relies mostly on both of his teachers' writings, ash-Shawkānī's *al-Badr at-Tālī* and al-Ahdal's *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*.

Therefore as one can expect, on the biographical account of ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī, al-Qannūjī replicated information already provided by al-Ahdal. However, for the list of al-Falimbānī’s teachers in addition to those mentioned by al-Ahdal, he added another teacher by the name of Shaykh Muḥammad Murād. As we can see later, there is strong evidence that he was Muḥammad Murād b. Ya‘qūb al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Anṣārī as-Sindī.

Al-Qannūjī’s work was later followed by ‘Aydarūs b. ‘Umar al-‘Alawī al-Ḥabshī (1237-1314/1831-96) who compiled his list of teachers and their teachers including ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī in his two *thabat* entitled *‘Iqd al-Yawāqūt al-Jawhariyyah wa-Simt al-‘Ayn adh-Dhahabiyyah bi-Dhikr Ṭarīq as-Sādāt al-‘Alawiyyah*, and *‘Uqūd al-La’āl fī Asānīd ar-Rijāl*. As both writings are compilations of the author’s *thabat*, they include among others his *isnāds*, several biographical accounts of his teachers and their teachers, and *ijāzahs* written by his teachers and their teachers. Such details are useful, especially the *ijāzahs* provided in these literatures as they furnish us with accounts of scholarly networks where students come in contact with their teachers, the literatures studied and transmitted through such contact, and no less important specifying the places and times of such meetings. According to the author, his *‘Iqd al-Yawāqūt* was compiled to record his *silsilah* of the al-‘Alawiyyah Sayyids and their *Ṣūfī* orders together with his continuous *isnāds* up to the Prophet SAW, and this was later followed by his *‘Uqūd al-La’āl*, compiled to record his *isnāds* on *ḥadīth* and various Islamic sciences that he studied with numerous teachers, providing a list and account of these teachers.

In his *‘Iqd al-Yawāqūt*, among the numerous *isnāds* recorded in this work is the *isnād* for the as-Sammāniyyah *Ṣūfī* Order which he received from several teachers, all of them in turn received it from ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal, who in turn received this order from ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Jāwī, who received it from his teacher Muḥammad as-Sammān himself.<sup>41</sup> Thus, this work provides us with *isnād* that include al-Falimbānī. His *‘Uqūd al-La’āl* records his teachers and their teachers, among them ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal who according to al-Ḥabshī was his father’s and uncle’s teacher. It is important to point out that al-Ḥabshī himself was also included among the students of al-Ahdal by way of



*ijāzah* ‘*āmmah* (general authorisation).<sup>42</sup> It is under the entry on al-Ahdal that the author provides us a list of his teachers including ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Jāwī.<sup>43</sup> As was previously the case in al-Qannūjī’s writing, the author only replicates and summarises al-Falimbānī’s biographical notice from *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, hence no new information is added to our existing knowledge. However, since both writings also provide biographical accounts of the author’s teachers and their teachers, they become important sources for this study as these teachers are the generations of al-Falimbānī’s teachers, students and contemporaries.

Later, ‘Abd ar-Razzāq b. Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm al-Bayṭār ad-Dimashqī (d. 1335/1916) compiled biographical reports on scholars who were alive during the thirteenth A.H./nineteenth century A.D. in his *Ḥilyat al-Bashar fī Tārīkh al-Qarn ath-Thālith ‘Ashar*. As ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī was among those who were active during this period since he was reported to have arrived at the city of Zabīd in 1206/1791, therefore al-Bayṭār included him in his writing. However, as the compiler himself was born decades later (in 1253/1837), the information recorded on al-Falimbānī was only gathered from the writings of his predecessors, namely al-Ahdal’s *an-Nafas al-Yamānī* and al-Qannūjī’s *at-Tāj al-Mukallal*. Since al-Bayṭār himself did not find any information on al-Falimbānī’s death, he roughly estimates that al-Falimbānī must have died after 1206/1791 and also attributed an epistle entitled *Faḍā’il al-Iḥyā’* to al-Falimbānī.<sup>44</sup>

‘Abd ar-Razzāq al-Bayṭār was later followed by a modern Yemeni traditionalist scholar from Ṣan‘ā’, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Ḥasanī al-Yamanī aṣ-Ṣan‘ānī (d. 1381/1961) better known as Zabārah who compiled a biographical work on scholars from Yemen in the thirteenth century A.H./nineteenth century A.D. entitled *Nayl al-Waṭar min Tarājim Rijāl al-Yaman fī ‘l-Qarn ath-Thālith ‘Ashar*. As ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal was among the Yemeni scholars who lived in the thirteenth century, his biographical account is included in this dictionary and in his entry, Zabārah also mentioned in passing that ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī was one of his numerous teachers.<sup>45</sup>

A contemporary Moroccan traditionalist scholar, ‘Abd al-Ḥayy b. ‘Abd al-Kabīr al-Kattānī (d. 1382/1962) compiled his *isnāds* for about one thousand and two hundred *thabat* literatures which he gathered from the eastern and western parts of the Islamic world in his *Fahras*



*al-Fahāris wa 'l-Athbāt wa-Mu'jam al-Ma'ājim wa 'l-Mashīkhāt wa 'l-Musalsalāt*. According to al-Kattānī, he wrote this work upon the request for an *ijāzah* by Muḥammad Ḥabīb Allāh ash-Shinqīṭī.<sup>46</sup> Apart from his *isnāds*, he also included biographical notices of notable scholars from the eastern and western Islamic world including scholars from Mecca, Medina, Egypt, Syria, India, Baghdad, Yemen, Turkey, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, Fes, and others, and this work according to him was completed in 1343/1924.

As 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal's *an-Nafas al-Yamānī* was among the *thabat* literatures included in this compilation, therefore he provided us a six-page description of al-Ahdal and his work. Al-Kattānī mentioned that in his writing, al-Ahdal divided his teachers into three *ṭabaqāt* as described earlier and then followed by providing biographical accounts of his teachers who were visitors to Zabīd, including 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Jāwī. However, apart from listing him as one of al-Ahdal's numerous teachers, al-Kattānī himself does not provide any information on al-Falimbānī.<sup>47</sup>

Mention of 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī is also recorded by contemporary Arabic biographical compilers such as 'Umar Riḍā Kaḥḥālāh (d. 1408/1987). He compiled an extensive list of authors who have written in Arabic together with samples of their writings in his *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn: Tarājim Muṣannifī 'l-Kutub al-'Arabiyyah* from the early stage such writings were recorded until his time. He also includes poets and narrators, collecting their literary works after their death and provides brief biographical reports for those whose birth and death were known, or the period that they lived.

Among the authors who have written in Arabic included in this dictionary was 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Jāwī himself, whom Kaḥḥālāh credits with one work entitled *Faḍā'il al-Iḥyā'* or virtues of al-Ghazālī's *al-Iḥyā'*. He points out that 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī was a *Ṣūfī* scholar who was well acquainted with various Islamic sciences and was reported to have arrived in Zabīd in 1206/1791 and hence deduced that he lived during the thirteenth century A.H.<sup>48</sup>

Finally our contemporary Muḥammad Adīb al-Ahdalī (1312-92/1894-1972) who compiled biographical notices of the al-Ahdal family in his *al-Qawl al-A'dal fī Tarājim Banī al-Ahdal* also mentions

al-Falimbānī in passing. According to Adīb al-Ahdalī, the al-Ahdal family are descendants of Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Īsā b. ‘Alawī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamḥām b. ‘Awf b. Mūsā al-Kāẓim b. Ja‘far aṣ-Ṣādiq who originated from al-Baṣrah, Iraq and later migrated to Medina, thence Wādī Sihām in the village of al-Murāwa‘ah, Yemen in the fourth century A.H./tenth century A.D. It was his grandson, ‘Alī b. ‘Umar b. Muḥammad who was the first to be known with the family name al-Ahdal.<sup>49</sup>

Among those included by the biographer are the three descendants of the earlier mentioned al-Ahdal family of Zabīd: Yaḥyā, Sulaymān and ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal. For the biographical account of ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal, he used Zabārah’s *Nayl al-Waṭar* and thus included mentioning ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī among al-Ahdal’s teachers.<sup>50</sup>

As already highlighted, the numerous books on *isnād* published by the contemporary Indonesian traditionalist scholar, Muḥammad Yāsīn al-Fādānī, are a crucial source for information on al-Falimbānī’s life. Although al-Fādānī is our contemporary, his writings provide numerous *isnāds* of ‘*ulamā*’ of *Jāwī* origin, including that of ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī himself which are not available elsewhere; these should be treated as traditional sources as he follows the traditional approach to Islamic writings. It is by critical analysis of such *isnāds* that we are able to extract and study the list of al-Falimbānī’s teachers and students and the various Islamic sciences which he studied with them, thus giving us a better picture of al-Falimbānī’s learning and scholarly life.

## Recent Malay Sources for al-Falimbānī’s Life

Perhaps one of the earliest traditional Malay source which provides an account of al-Falimbānī’s life is Muhammad Hassan Dato’ Kerani Muhammad’s *Tawārīkh Silsilah [Negeri Kedah]* (Chronicles of Kedah). As the title indicates, this treatise was compiled by Muhammad Hassan (1868-1943) based on the genealogical history of Kedah which begins from the year 390/999 up to Rabī‘ al-Awwal 1345/September 1926 and includes the history of Kedah and its rulers. In his prologue, the author tells us that he compiled this work on 1 Rajab 1345/5 January 1927 upon the request of the ruler of Kedah, Sulṭān ‘Abd al-Ḥamid Ḥalīm Shāh b.

Sulṭān Aḥmad Tāj ad-Dīn Mukarrām Shāh in order to present a history of Kedah for the current younger generation.<sup>51</sup>

Though its early part on the history of Kedah seems more legendary than factual as the compiler claims the saga has been handed down over generations which certainly cannot be justified, the later part of this work is more reliable as it provides factual details of the generally known history of Kedah and its rulers.

It is important to point out that according to this work, ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī had a strong blood connection with Kedah as he is believed to be the son of ‘Abd al-Jalīl and the half brother of ‘Abd al-Qādir, both *mufṭīs* of Kedah successively in the eighteenth century. Hence, within this source we can find al-Falimbānī’s early life record which apparently is the only available evidence for his earliest life in the Archipelago. However, the life accounts of al-Falimbānī available from this source are minimal and can be summarised as follows. ‘Abd al-Jalīl b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb b. Aḥmad al-Hamdānī (d. 1196/1782) was a wandering scholar who came from Ṣan‘ā, Yemen and travelled extensively to Palembang, Java and India. It was during his stay in Palembang that the crown prince of Kedah, Muḥammad Jīwā, who later became the Sulṭān of Kedah, met and studied with him. After six months of stay in Palembang, Muḥammad Jīwā, who did not reveal his identity, followed his teacher to Java and thence to India.<sup>52</sup>

It was not until their return voyage to Kedah that Muḥammad Jīwā revealed his identity to his teacher ‘Abd al-Jalīl, and then he became the new Sulṭān of Kedah on 20 Sha‘bān 1122/14 October 1710, replacing his late father who had died during his travels. Subsequently the new Sulṭān appointed his teacher to the religious office as the new *mufṭī* of Kedah and gave in marriage to one of his nobles, Dato’ Seri Maharaja Petra Dewa’s daughter, Wan Zainab.<sup>53</sup>

Few months following their arrival in Kedah, a student of ‘Abd al-Jalīl from Palembang, Raden Siran, came to visit him. He stayed in Kedah for two months and later invited his teacher, the new *mufṭī* of Kedah, to visit Palembang as his students were missing him. Soon after his arrival, ‘Abd al-Jalīl married a local Palembang woman, perhaps from among the daughters of the nobles. It was from this marriage and



after his three years sojourn in Palembang that a son by the name ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad was born.

‘Abd al-Jalīl then returned to Kedah with his new born son, and with his wife, Wan Zainab, he had two more sons, ‘Abd al-Qādir and ‘Abd Allāh. Later, his father dispatched both ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad and ‘Abd al-Qādir to study in Mecca, Arabia; ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad eventually became famous as ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī and ‘Abd al-Qādir himself returned back home and was later appointed as the *mufī* of Kedah to replace his father.<sup>54</sup>

On the account of his death, according to this work, on the 10 Muḥarram 1244/23 July 1828, a rebellion against the Siamese (Thais) occupation of Kedah led by Tunku Muḥammad Sa’d (a nephew of the ousted Sulṭān of Kedah) was joined by ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī who happened to be in Kedah visiting his half brother the *mufī* ‘Abd al-Qādir. Later, al-Falimbānī was reported to have been killed in the *jihād* against the Siamese when the latter attacked the Malays near the town of Singgora (modern Songkhla), at present in Southern Thailand.<sup>55</sup>

Though, out of all the available sources only this work seems to provides us with the early life account of al-Falimbānī, it has yet to be treated cautiously as new evidence in other sources does not accord with it. For instance, on his ancestry as can be seen later, ‘Abd al-Jalīl is proven to be his grandfather instead of his father as alleged by this source, and the death of al-Falimbānī in the war against the Siamese alleged to be in the year 1244/1828 is inaccurate as other historical sources indicate that it occurs later.

A second Malay source and perhaps more reliable than the aforementioned *Tawārīkh Silsilah* that should be consulted is the work of ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān Ṣiddīq b. Muḥammad ‘Afīf al-Jāwī al-Banjārī (1857-1939), a maternal grandson of Arshad al-Banjārī. He compiled a genealogical account of Arshad al-Banjārī and his descendants in a *Jāwī* text entitled *Risālah Shajarah al-Arshadiyah al-Banjariyah wa-mā ulḥiqa bi-hā*, which according to Ṣiddīq himself was completed on Friday, 12 Shawwāl 1350/19 February 1932.<sup>56</sup> He begins his writing with a prologue introducing the historical background and life of Arshad al-Banjārī and some of his *manāqib* (merits). According to Ṣiddīq, Arshad was born to a righteous man (*laki-laki yang ṣāliḥ*) by the name of ‘Abd Allāh during



the reign of Sulṭān Taḥmīd Allāh b. Sulṭān Tamjīd Allāh of Banjar on the night of Thursday, 13 Ṣafar 1122/13 April 1710.<sup>57</sup>

Looking at the young and talented Arshad, the Sulṭān quickly fell in love with him, adopting him and sending him to a local religious teacher for his rudimentary education. Upon completing his basic education, the Sulṭān dispatched him to Mecca for pilgrimage and to further his studies with the scholars of *al-Ḥaramayn*. Among these scholars were Shaykh ‘Aṭā’ Allāh in Mecca and Shaykh Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī in Medina, spending some thirty years and five years in Mecca and Medina, respectively.<sup>58</sup> In Mecca, he studied together with his fellow compatriots including ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī, ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Batāwī and ‘Abd al-Waḥhāb as-Siantanī, and travelled with them to Egypt and Medina, and later to the Archipelago arriving in Batavia (now Jakarta), according to Sayyid ‘Uthmān al-Batāwī on 2 Rabī‘ al-Ākhir 1186/3 July 1772.<sup>59</sup>

Furthermore, Ṣiddīq al-Banjārī also provides us with a rather detailed account of al-Falimbānī’s travels back to the Archipelago in another work. On the title cover of al-Falimbānī’s *Hidāyat as-Sālikīn*, an undated edition by Maṭba‘at al-Aḥmadiyyah, Singapore, Ṣiddīq provides a brief biographical account of the author’s travels and scholarship. He informs us that his maternal grandfather, Arshad al-Banjārī together with ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī studied in Mecca for thirty years and their teachers include Shaykh ‘Aṭā’ Allāh and then together travelled to Egypt to further their studies. In Medina, they met and studied with Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī the author of *Fatāwā al-Madaniyyah*<sup>60</sup> and its *muftī*. It was during their sojourn in Medina that they also studied with Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān, from whom they took the *bay‘ah* (pledge of allegiance) and later both were appointed as his *khalīfah*. After their studies in Medina for five years, they travelled back to the Archipelago, first arriving at Penang then Singapore thence Batavia. From there onward, they separated as they return to Palembang and Banjar, respectively.<sup>61</sup>

Though both the above mentioned Malay works do not tell us much about al-Falimbānī himself, they do become crucial sources that relate al-Falimbānī’s life, his contemporaries, his duration of studies in

*al-Ḥaramayn*, and his travels in the Arab world as well as his return to the Archipelago, which are not readily available elsewhere.

Thus it is from the study and analysis of all the above mentioned sources and materials that enables us to gain fresh information on ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī’s life, historical background, his intellectual development during his learning and teaching, his scholarly activities especially as a teacher in Mecca and Zabīd, and his writing career which were not available in previous studies. Analytical and critical study of these sources have also enabled us to draw together pieces of information on al-Falimbānī, enabling us to reconstruct a more precise biographical data of his intellectual life and scholarly activities, which we will turn to next.

## Endnotes

- <sup>1</sup> See Drewes (d. 1992), G. W. J., “Snouck Hurgronje and the Study of Islam” in *BKI* (113, 1957), pp. 1-15.
- <sup>2</sup> See Hurgronje (d. 1936), C. Snouck, *Mekka in the Later Part of 19<sup>th</sup> Century*, translated by J. H. Monahan (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1970), p. 289.
- <sup>3</sup> See Voorhoeve (d. 1996), P., “‘Abd Al-Ṣamad b. ‘Abd Allāh Al-Palimbānī” in *EF* (Leiden, E. J. Brill; London, Luzac & Co., 1960), vol. I, p. 92.
- <sup>4</sup> See Ronkel, *Catalogus Der Maleische Handschriften*, pp. 57, 383, 400, 429; idem, *Supplement to The Catalogue of The Arabic Manuscripts Preserved in The Museum of The Batavia Society of Arts and Sciences* (The Hague, Nijhoff, 1913), pp. 139, 216.
- <sup>5</sup> This work is correctly entitled *Zahrat al-Murīd*, as *Zahrah* means flower while *Zuhrah* is Venus, the second planet from the Sun.
- <sup>6</sup> The correct title of this work is *al-‘Urwat al-Wuthqā wa-Silsilat al-Walī al-Atqā*, by whom al-Falimbānī meant his renowned *Ṣūfī* master in Medina, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān.
- <sup>7</sup> See Voorhoeve, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 92.
- <sup>8</sup> See Winstedt, *A History of Classical Malay Literature*, p. 152.
- <sup>9</sup> This article in English, was first published in *Akademika* and was later included as Chapter IX of his *Peradaban Dalam Islam*. See El-Muhammady, Muḥammad ‘Uthman, “The Islamic concept of education according to Shaykh ‘Abdu’s-Samad of Palembang and its Significance in relation to the issue of personality integration” in *Akademika* (1, 1972),

pp. 59-84; idem, *Peradaban Dalam Islam* (Kota Bharu, Pustaka Aman Press, 1982), pp. 164-206.

- 10 It should be noted that the difference between the two Arabic words 'sayr' and 'siyar' (sing. *sīrah*); is that the former literally means journey, generally applied to mystical or spiritual journey and the latter literally means conduct, but generally used to describe 'life history.' As we shall see later, the correct title of this work is *Sayr as-Sālikīn ilā 'Ibādat Rabb al-Ālamīn*.
- 11 See El-Muhammady, "The Islamic concept of education," pp. 62-84;
- 12 See Drewes, *Directions for Travellers*, pp. 219-29.
- 13 *Ibid*, pp. 87-105.
- 14 *Ibid*, p. 222.
- 15 Upon the discovery of these texts, Professor M.C. Ricklefs called them to the attention of Professor Drewes, who published them with an English translation and commentary. See Drewes, "Further data concerning 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī" in *BKI* (132, 1976), pp. 269-71, 290-2.
- 16 See Drewes, "Further data," pp. 267, 273-4.
- 17 See Drewes, *Directions for Travellers*, pp. 219-29.
- 18 See Chambert-Loir, Henri, "Abdussamad Al-Falimbani Sebagai Ulama Jawi," in al-Falimbānī, 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, Romanised by Muin Umar (Banda Aceh, Museum Negeri Aceh, 1985), pp. v-xvi.
- 19 *Ibid*, pp. vi-xii.
- 20 See Johns, Anthony H., "Islam in the Malay World: An Exploratory Survey with some reference to Quranic Exegesis" in Raphael Israeli and A. H. Johns (eds.), *Islam in Asia: Southeast and East Asia* (2 vols., Jerusalem, The Magnes Press, 1984), vol. II, pp. 115-61.
- 21 Ṣiddīq al-Madanī's work entitled *Qatf Azhār al-Mawāhib ar-Rabbāniyyah min Afnān Riyāḍ an-Nafḥat al-Qudsiyyah li-Sayyidinā ash-Shaykh as-Sammān* has been edited by Aḥmad 'Abd al-Majīd Harīdī and published in Egypt.
- 22 See Quzwain, M. Chatib, "Syeikh 'Abd al-Shamad al-Palimbani: Suatu Studi Mengenai Perkembangan Islam di Palembang dalam Abad ke 18 Masehi" in Gadjahnata, K.H.O. and Swasono, Sri-Edi (eds.), *Masuk dan Berkembangnya Islam di Sumatera Selatan* (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Jakarta, Penerbit Universitas Indonesia, 1986), pp. 170-90.
- 23 For instance, it is clear from early discussion that his *Zahrat al-Murīd* was based on ad-Damanhūrī's lectures which he attended at al-Masjīd al-Ḥarām. Further discussion on al-Falimbānī's works will follow in Chapter 5.

- 24 Quzwain, M. Chatib, *Mengenal Allah: Suatu Kajian Mengenai Ajaran Tasawuf Syekh Abd. Samad al-Palimbani* (6<sup>th</sup> edition, Kuala Lumpur, Thinker's Library Sdn. Bhd., 2003).
- 25 *Ibid*, pp. 19-30.
- 26 See Azra, Azyumardi *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII & XVIII: Akar Pembaruan Islam Indonesia* (Bandung, Mizan, 1994); idem, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia: Networks of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern 'Ulamā' in The Seventeenth And Eighteenth Centuries* (Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 2004).
- 27 See Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism*, pp. 116, 194.
- 28 See Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Later Part of 19<sup>th</sup> Century*, pp. 286-7. For Ahmad al-Faṭānī's list of works, see Heer, Nicholas, *A Concise Handlist of Jawi Authors and Their Works* (Version 1.9, Seattle, Washington, 2008), pp. 19-21.
- 29 See Bruinessen, Martin van, "A Note on Source Materials for the Biographies of Southeast Asian 'Ulama'" in *La Transmission Du Savoir Dans Le Monde Musulman Périphérique, Lettre d'information*, 17 (1997), p. 65.
- 30 See Abdullah (d. 2007), Wan Mohd. Shaghir, *Syeikh Abdush Shamad Al-Falimbani: Shufi yang Syahid Fi Sabilillah* (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Ponitanak, Yayasan Pendidikan dan Da'wah Islamiyah Al-Fathanah, 1983).
- 31 *Ibid*, pp. 11-5.
- 32 Abdullah (d. 2007), Wan Mohd. Shaghir, *Syeikh Abdus Shamad Palembang: Ulama Shufi dan Jihad Dunia Melayu* (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Kuala Lumpur, Khazanah Fathaniyah, 1996).
- 33 A full discussion on al-Falimbānī's works will follow in Chapter 5.
- 34 See Abdullah (d. 2007), Wan Mohd. Shaghir, *Al- 'Urwatul Wutsqa Syeikh Abdus Shamad Al-Falimbani: Pegangan Yang Kukuh Golongan Shufi* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Kuala Lumpur, Khazanah Fathaniyah, 1998); idem, *Hidayatus Salikin Shaykh Abdus Shamad al-Falimbani* (3 vols., Kuala Lumpur, Khazanah Fathaniyah, 2002).
- 35 *Supra*, p. 6.
- 36 Modern scholarly literatures wrongly transliterate this works as 'an-Nafs al-Yamānī wa 'r-Rūḥ ar-Rayḥānī' instead of the proper title *an-Nafas al-Yamānī wa 'r-Rawḥ ar-Rayḥānī*.
- 37 For his translation, see Feener, R. Michael, "Yemeni Sources for the History of Islam in Indonesia: 'Abd al-Samad Palimbani in the *Nafas*



*al-Yamānī*,” *La Transmission Du Savoir Dans Le Monde Musulman Peripherique*, 19 (1999), pp. 128-144.

- 38 I have noticed that some of Feener’s translation does not correspond to the original Arabic text. For further details compare Feener, “Yemeni Sources for the History of Islam in Indonesia: ‘Abd al-Samad Palimbani in the *Nafas al-Yamānī*,” *La Transmission Du Savoir Dans Le Monde Musulman Peripherique*, 19 (1999), pp. 128-144 with appendix 1.
- 39 See al-Ahdal (d. 1250/1834), Wajīh ad-Dīn ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān b. Yaḥyā al-Yamanī, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī wa ‘r-Rawḥ ar-Rayḥānī fī Ijāzat al-Quḍāt Banī ash-Shawkānī* (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Ṣan‘ā’, Markaz ad-Dirāsāt wa ‘l-Abḥāth al-Yamaniyyah, 1979), pp. 138-9.
- 40 See al-Qannūjī (d. 1307/1889), Abū aṭ-Ṭayyīb Ṣiddīq b. Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Luṭf Allāh al-Ḥusaynī al-Bukhārī, *at-Tāj al-Mukallal min Jawāhir Maāthir aṭ-Ṭirāz ‘l-Ākhir wa ‘l-Awwal*, edited by Ibrāhīm Shams ad-Dīn (Beirut, Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, 1424/2003), pp. 363-4.
- 41 See al-Ḥabshī (d. 1314/1896), ‘Aydrūs b. ‘Umar b. ‘Aydrūs b. ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-‘Alawī, *Iqd al-Yawāqūt al-Jawhariyyah wa-Simt al-‘Ayn adh-Dhahabiyyah bi-Dhikr Ṭarīq as-Sādāt al-‘Alawiyyah* (1<sup>st</sup> edition, 2 vols., Egypt, al-Maṭba‘at al-‘Āmirah ash-Sharafiyyah, 1317/1899), vol. 1, p. 91.
- 42 See al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, p. 255; al-Ḥabshī, *‘Uqūd al-La‘āl*, p. 257; al-Fādānī, *an-Nafḥat al-Miskiyyah fī ‘l-Asānīd al-Makkiyyah* (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Beirut, Dār al-Bashā‘ir al-Islāmiyyah, 1990/1410), p. 114.
- 43 See al-Ḥabshī, *‘Uqūd al-La‘āl*, pp. 223-4.
- 44 See al-Bayṭār (d. 1335/1916), ‘Abd ar-Razzāq b. Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm ad-Dimashqī, *Hilyat al-Bashar fī Tārīkh al-Qarn ath-Thālith ‘Ashar*, edited by Muḥammad Bahjat al-Bayṭār (3 vols., Beirut, Dār Ṣādīr, 1413/1993), vol. 2, pp. 851-2.
- 45 See Zabārah (d. 1381/1961), Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥasanī al-Yamanī aṣ-Ṣan‘ānī, *Nayl al-Waṭar min Tārājīm Rijāl al-Yaman fī ‘l-Qarn ath-Thālith ‘Ashar min Hijrah Sayyid al-Bashar SAW*, edited by ‘Ādil Aḥmad ‘Abd al-Mawjūd and ‘Alī Muḥammad Mu‘awwad (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 2 vols., Beirut, Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, 1419/1998), vol. 2, pp. 47-50.
- 46 See al-Kattānī (d. 1382/1962), ‘Abd al-Ḥayy b. ‘Abd al-Kabīr, *Fahras al-Fahāris wa ‘l-Athbāt wa-Mu‘jam al-Ma‘ājim wa ‘l-Mashikhāt wa ‘l-Musalsalāt*, edited by Iḥsān ‘Abbās (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 3 vols., Beirut, Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1402/1932), vol. 1, pp. 49-57.
- 47 See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, pp. 695-700.

- <sup>48</sup> See Kaḥḥālāh (d. 1408/1987), ‘Umar Riḍā, *Mu‘jam al-Mu‘allifīn Tarājīm Muṣannifī ‘l-Kutub al-‘Arabiyyah* (15 vols., Beirut, Dār Iḥyā’ at-Turāth al-‘Arabī, 1376/1957), vol. 5, p. 235.
- <sup>49</sup> See al-Aḥdalī (d. 1392/1972), Muḥammad Adīb, *al-Qawl al-A‘dal fī Tarājīm Banī al-Aḥdal* (Ḥimṣ, Maṭba‘at ash-Sharq, 1359/1940), pp. 1-6.
- <sup>50</sup> See al-Aḥdalī, *al-Qawl al-A‘dal*, pp. 124-6.
- <sup>51</sup> See Muhammad (d. 1943), Muhammad Hassan Dato’ Kerani, *Tawārīkh Silsilah Negeri Kedah* (Penang, Jelutong Press, 1347/1928), p. 1.
- <sup>52</sup> *Ibid*, p. 112.
- <sup>53</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 129-30, 205.
- <sup>54</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 206-7.
- <sup>55</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 234-6.
- <sup>56</sup> See al-Banjārī (d. 1357/1939), ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān Ṣiddīq b. Muḥammad ‘Afīf al-Jāwī, *Risālah Shajarah al-Arshadiyah al-Banjariyah wa-mā ulḥiqa bi-hā* (Singapore, Maṭba‘at al-Aḥmadiyyah, 1356/1937), p. 103.
- <sup>57</sup> *Ibid*, p. 5. However, the date and day he provides does not accord as the 13<sup>th</sup> falls on Sunday.
- <sup>58</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 5-6.
- <sup>59</sup> See al-Batāwī (d. 1331/1913), ‘Uthmān b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Aqīl b. Yaḥyā al-‘Alawī al-Jāwī, *Taḥrīr Aqwā al-Adillah* (Batavia, s.n., 1320/1902), p. 1.
- <sup>60</sup> This is perhaps his *Fatāwā al-Kurdī* as the original title of this text is only *Fatāwā* by Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī al-Madanī, thus known as *Fatāwā al-Kurdī*.
- <sup>61</sup> A lithographed copy of the *Hidāyat as-Sālikīn*’s cover page is printed in Abdullah, *Syeikh Abdus Shamad*, p. 173.

## Chapter 2

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### Biographical Data of ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī

#### Introduction

Al-Falimbānī is better known to students of Southeast Asian history as Shaykh ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Jāwī al-Falimbānī. As his *nisbah* (ascription) indicates, he hailed from the Palembang region in South Sumatra, the second largest island of the modern Republic of Indonesia.<sup>1</sup> Whereas al-Jāwī attached to his name indicates that he came from the Malay Archipelago.<sup>2</sup>

As individual people are indicated by their *nisbah* formation, we find al-Fādānī indicates a person originating from Padang, al-Banjārī from Banjar, al-Falimbānī from Palembang, al-Faṭānī from Pattani, etc. The Arabs, as is known, pronounce the letter ‘p’ as ‘f,’ hence I have adopted the transliteration al-Falimbānī (by replacing the ‘p’ of Palembang with ‘f’) which I consider more appropriate than other variations.

Though he originated from Palembang, according to the earlier mentioned *Tawārīkh Silsilah*, he had a strong link with Kedah. This traditional account of al-Falimbānī’s early life described that it was ‘Abd al-Jalīl, the *muftī* of Kedah, who sent both ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad (supposedly his son in Palembang) and ‘Abd al-Qādir (his son in Kedah) to Mecca. After years of learning in the Arab world, ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad was later well-known as ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī, whereas ‘Abd al-Qādir returned to Kedah and was later appointed as the *muftī*, succeeding his father.<sup>3</sup>

Furthermore, our contemporary Indonesian traditional scholar, Yāsīn al-Fādānī uses an additional *nisbah* in his *isnād* works where he also describes al-Falimbānī as ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Ashī *ash-shahūr bi* (better known as) al-Falimbānī.<sup>4</sup> Perhaps, without consulting works of al-Fādānī, this additional *nisbah* to Aceh would have never been brought

to light. As we know that al-Falimbānī originated from Palembang, it is appropriate to assume that he must have obtained this *nisbah* probably due to his stay in Aceh; perhaps when he studied there before going to Arabia. It is customary for traditional Islamic scholars to adopt a *nisbah* of a particular place due to their stay in that place; for instance, the famous eighteenth century lexicographer Muḥammad Murṭaḍā az-Zabīdī who was born in India and not in Zabīd, Yemen (and neither died there), acquired this *nisbah* for his prolonged stay during his studies in Zabīd.

Thus, it is highly likely that al-Falimbānī studied in Aceh during his early childhood before embarking to the Arab world. This is very plausible if we take into account that before the rise of Palembang in the eighteenth century as a centre for Islamic learning, leading scholars such as Ḥamzah al-Fanṣūrī (d. ca. 1016/1607), Shams ad-Dīn as-Sūmaṭrī or as-Sumaṭrānī (d. 1040/1630) from Pasai in Sumatra, Nūr ad-Dīn ar-Rānīrī (d. 1068/1658), ‘Abd ar-Ra’ūf as-Sinkīlī (1024-1105/1615-93), and Yūsuf al-Maqassārī (1037-1111/1627-99), all flourished and became prominent in Aceh a century earlier than al-Falimbānī. This generation was later inherited by an intermediate generation of Aceh scholars in the early eighteenth century such as Faqīh Jalāl ad-Dīn al-Ashī, his son Muḥammad Zayn b. Faqīh Jalāl ad-Dīn al-Ashī and others, before the rise of Palembang as the new centre for Islamic learning in the eighteenth century.

From this additional *nisbah*, we can deduce that al-Falimbānī who was born in Palembang must have travelled to and studied in Aceh before pursuing his advanced studies in the centres of Islamic learning in the Arab world.

## Obscurity of al-Falimbānī’s Pedigree

As already mentioned, al-Falimbānī is commonly cited in scholarly literature as Shaykh ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Jāwī al-Falimbānī, leaving the details of his lineage unspecified. This is certainly due to the fact that al-Falimbānī in his own works is only described as ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Jāwī al-Falimbānī without his father’s name.<sup>5</sup> Hence different names have been associated with his father, namely ‘Abd Allāh, Faqīh Ḥusayn, ‘Abd al-Jalīl, and ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān.



The Dutch linguist, Petrus Voorhoeve in a short biography of al-Falimbānī, asserts that ‘Abd Allāh was his father.<sup>6</sup> It is not clear from where he derived this name but perhaps, as the French philologist Henri Chambert-Loir noted, this ascription originally came from a manuscript copy of *Zahrat al-Murīd* which was authored by ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. ‘Abd Allāh.<sup>7</sup> Though further discussion of *Zahrat al-Murīd* follows later, it is worthwhile mentioning here that abundant numbers of manuscript copies of this work can be found deposited in most of the libraries holding Malay *Jāwī* manuscripts, which certainly indicates that this work was once very popular and widely circulated in the archipelago. Most of these manuscript copies present the name of the author as ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān or ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Jāwī al-Falimbānī, without his father’s name. Nevertheless, there are also a few copies which give ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. ‘Abd Allāh as the author. Hence the copy mentioned by Chambert-Loir must have been one of the few copies that bear the name ‘Abd Allāh.<sup>8</sup>

Among one of the manuscripts that carries the name ‘Abd Allāh, there is a particular copy held by the Islamic Arts Museum of Malaysia that caught my attention. This manuscript was copied by Muḥammad Ḥusayn b. ‘Abd al-Laṭīf b. ‘Abd al-Mu’min b. ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Jāwī al-Faṭānī (1280-1367/1863-1948), better known among locals as ‘Tok Kelaba’ (derived from the place where he dwelled; Kelaba in Pattani). He was a renowned scholar in the late nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century who authored several treatises and copied substantial numbers of works by scholars of previous generations, thus he is one of the more reliable copyists.<sup>9</sup> This manuscript, as noted earlier, was copied in Tok Kelaba’s own handwriting and interestingly, despite recording the name ‘‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. ‘Abd Allāh’ in the title and text, he made an amendment in the marginal text from ‘‘Abd Allāh’ to ‘‘Abd ar-Raḥmān.’<sup>10</sup> This leads to the conclusion that the attribution of ‘Abd Allāh as al-Falimbānī’s father was an error which was corrected by Tok Kelaba as it appears that this correction was written in his own handwriting.

A hypothesis that can be considered in illustrating this attribution is that it was merely a pure coincidence that two other *Jāwī* authors who were contemporaneous to our al-Falimbānī, namely Muḥammad Arshad

b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Banjārī (1122-1227/1710-1812) the renowned author of *Sabīl al-Muhtadīn* (The Path of the Guided); and perhaps the most prolific *Jāwī* author, Dāwūd b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Idrīs al-Faṭānī (1176-1263/1763-1846), both carried the same father’s name. This probably has somehow contributed to the confusion of al-Falimbānī’s pedigree when copyists of his work unintentionally supplemented the name ‘Abd Allāh as his father. This is highly plausible if we take into account that most of al-Falimbānī’s own works do not provide us with his father’s name.

Another name that has been associated with al-Falimbānī’s father and probably the least common among all as it can only be found in Malay works, is Faqīh Ḥusayn.<sup>11</sup> Without doubt this vagueness is a consequence of a treatise held by the Malay collections titled *Anīs al-Muttaqīn* (Delight for the Pious) which bears the name ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. Faqīh Ḥusayn b. Faqīh Muḥammad as the author.<sup>12</sup> As the author’s name of this treatise resembles that of al-Falimbānī himself, our contemporary Malaysian scholar Shaghir Abdullah has considered Faqīh Ḥusayn as his father and further alleged that *Anīs al-Muttaqīn* was authored by him.<sup>13</sup>

As whether al-Falimbānī was indeed the author of this treatise or not is in dispute, it is more appropriate to be dealt with in the chapter on the works of al-Falimbānī. However, it is important to point out that according to my findings, ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. Faqīh Ḥusayn b. Faqīh Muḥammad is likely to have been an Arab scholar, which can be deduced from the eloquent Arabic he demonstrates in this treatise, and is thus a completely different figure from ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī.<sup>14</sup>

Meanwhile, some contemporary studies mentioned that al-Falimbānī was the son of Shaykh ‘Abd al-Jalīl (d. 1196/1782), a wandering scholar who originally comes from Ṣan‘ā’, Yemen.<sup>15</sup> This definitely comes to us via the traditional account of his life in Muhammad Hassan b. Dato’ Kerani Muhammad’s (1868-1943) *Tawārīkh Silsilah Negeri Kedah*, a genealogical history of Kedah and its rulers. It is worthwhile to mention that contemporary scholarly literature describes this work as ‘*al-Tārikh Salasilah Negeri Kedah*,’ probably following the Romanised version by Mohd. Zahid b. Mohd. Shah of the original *Jāwī* publication. However, the author himself clearly indicated that he named his work *Tawārīkh Silsilah [Negeri Kedah]*.<sup>16</sup> The traditional accounts on ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad

al-Falimbānī in this source are not to be ignored, however it should be treated cautiously because some of its contents contradict findings from other sources. The compiler, Muhammad Hasan describes himself as the great great-grandson of ‘Abd al-Jalīl thus having a strong link with him. He tells us that:

“in accordance with the royal decree, the *Tawārīkh Silsilah* was compiled by Muhammad Hassan b. Dato’ Kerani Muhammad – ‘*Irshad Rahsia*’ (confidant of) al-Marhum Sulṭān Aḥmad Tajuddin Mukarram Shah Yang Maha Mulia – b. Tuan Shaykh Abū Bakr Qāḍī (judge) b. Tuan Shaykh ‘Abd al-Qādir Muftī [of Kedah] b. Tuan Shaykh ‘Abd al-Jalīl Muftī [of Kedah] b. Tuan Shaykh ‘Abd al-Wahhāb b. Tuan Shaykh Aḥmad al-Mahdānī (perhaps a distortion of the Arabic family name al-Mahdālī or al-Hamdānī) [from] Yemen, Bandar (city of) Ṣan‘ā’.”<sup>17</sup>

According to Muhammad Hassan, his great grandfather, ‘Abd al-Qādir who was the son of the wandering Yemeni scholar ‘Abd al-Jalīl, is alleged to have been a half brother of our ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī as his mother was a noble woman from Kedah, whereas ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad’s mother was a local Palembang woman. He tells us that upon ‘Abd al-Jalīl’s arrival in Kedah he was appointed as the state *muftī* by the Sulṭān who then facilitated his marriage to a daughter of one of his nobles, Wan Zainab, with whom he later had two sons: ‘Abd al-Qādir and ‘Abd Allāh. A few months after his arrival in Kedah, ‘Abd al-Jalīl was visited by his former student, Raden Siran who invited him to travel to Palembang to meet other former students there. Soon after his arrival, ‘Abd al-Jalīl married one of the local Palembang woman, perhaps also from among the daughters of the nobles. It was from this marriage, according to Muhammad Hassan, that a son by the name ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad was born.<sup>18</sup> Thus according to this source, ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī was the son of ‘Abd al-Jalīl.

However, from the writings of the contemporary Indonesian traditionalist Islamic scholar, Shaykh Yāsīn al-Fādānī, this obscurity can now be clarified as he provides us with a crucial piece of information. According to al-Fādānī, who himself was a renowned *muḥaddith* of *Jāwī* origin in Mecca, in his *isnāds* linking him to al-Falimbānī not only did he mention ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad’s name but also provides his full



lineage as “Shaykh ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd al-Jalīl al-Falimbānī.” Therefore, if we accept this piece of evidence, it is obvious that ‘Abd al-Jalīl, the supposed father of al-Falimbānī was actually his grandfather and not his father.

The last of these names to be associated with al-Falimbānī’s father is ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān.<sup>20</sup> After a comprehensive investigation, I am convinced that ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān is indeed al-Falimbānī’s father as he himself uses and gives his full name as ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Jāwī al-Falimbānī in at least in three of his works, among them his earlier mentioned *Zahrāt al-Murīd fī Bayān Kalimat at-Tawḥīd*. It is believed that this is the first work that al-Falimbānī wrote and it was completed in Mecca on 23 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1178/12 June 1765. According to its author, this work was written to fulfil the request of some of his friends to translate into Malay *Jāwī* the lecture in Arabic given by his teacher Shaykh Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Mun‘im ad-Damanhūrī (1101-92/1690-1778) in Mecca during the *Ḥajj* in that year.<sup>21</sup> The second place where his father’s name, ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān was mentioned is in a manuscript copy of *al-‘Urwat al-Wuthqā wa-Silsilat al-Walī al-Atqā* (The firm bond and the genealogy of the most God-fearing saint) by whom he meant his renowned *Ṣūfī* master in Medina, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān. According to the *silsilah* recorded in this manuscript, this copy was received by Sulaymān of Lambirah, Aceh, from Maḥmūd [b. Kinān al-Falimbānī] who in turn received it from ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī himself.<sup>22</sup> Obviously this copy was written by a student of one of al-Falimbānī’s disciple.

The third place where his father’s name, ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān can be sighted is in a manuscript copy of al-Falimbānī’s *Zād al-Muttaqīn fī Tawḥīd Rabb al-‘Ālamīn* (Sustenance for the Pious on the oneness of the Lord of the Universe), a treatise written to clarify the *Ṣūfī* doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd*.<sup>23</sup> This copy clearly (which I have edited and translated), indicates that it was written and copied in Mecca from the original writing of al-Falimbānī himself, most probably by one of his disciples there. As al-Falimbānī himself provides his father’s name as ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān in these three works, there is no reason to doubt this ascription.

In addition, there is strong supporting external evidence that ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān was indeed al-Falimbānī’s father as this was clearly



mentioned by one of his close disciples, Wajīh ad-Dīn ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān b. Yaḥyā b. ‘Umar al-Ahdal (1179-1250/1766-1835), the *muftī* of Zabīd, Yemen.<sup>24</sup> In fact ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal was among al-Falimbānī’s last students in Zabīd where he taught in the year 1206/1791. ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal obviously considered al-Falimbānī as one of his most important teachers since he included his biographical account in his *thabat*, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, a compilation of his teachers and some of their biographical accounts. As mentioned earlier, among his teachers there whom he terms ‘*al-wāfīdīn ilā madīnat Zabīd*’ (those who were visiting scholars in Zabīd), al-Ahdal includes “our Shaykh *al-‘allāmah* (the great scholar), *al-walī* (the saint), *al-fahhāmah* (the astute), *at-taqī* (the pious), *wajīh al-Islām* (notable of Islam), ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Jāwī who arrived at the city of Zabīd in the year 1206/1791.”<sup>25</sup>

This is indeed very concrete evidence since ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal himself met and studied with al-Falimbānī and later recorded his biography in his book. As mentioned in the previous chapter, al-Falimbānī was among the first known *Jāwī* scholar to have a biographical notice recorded in Arabic writings and al-Ahdal’s work is the first ever known Arabic source to provide us with a biographical notice of a *Jāwī* scholar active in Yemen. Without doubt this definitely reflects al-Falimbānī’s esteemed position in his teaching career; not only was he the only *Jāwī* scholar among his compatriots to have earned this highly revered status, but also the significant notice by ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal, who himself was a *muftī* of Zabīd, clearly indicates that he was one of his most important teachers as he was chosen among hundreds of other ‘*ulamā*’ who lived during that time to be included in his work.

Furthermore, all the *isnāds* of al-Falimbānī in the writings of Shaykh Yāsīn al-Fādānī clearly point out that ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān was his father’s name, which corroborates al-Ahdal’s notice.<sup>26</sup> Similarly, this conclusion can also be seen in the *isnād* works of other scholars of Mecca. For instance, ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd Quds al-Jāwī al-Makkī (1280-1334/1863-1915) in his *isnād* of the *al-Khalwatiyyah as-Sammāniyyah Ṣūfī* Order points out that he received membership of this Order from his three teachers, ‘Umar, and his brother Bakrī, both sons of Muḥammad Shattā ad-Dimyātī, and from Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Ḥabshī, all of them in turn received

it from ‘Aydārūs b. ‘Umar al-Ḥabshī (1237-1314/1831-96). ‘Aydārūs al-Ḥabshī in his *‘Iqd al-Yawāqīt al-Jawhariyyah* in turn relates that he obtained his membership in this Order via several teachers, all of whom received it from ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal, who received it from ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Jāwī al-Falimbānī, who in turn received it directly from the founder of the *al-Khalwatiyyah as-Sammāniyyah* Order, Muḥammad as-Sammān.<sup>27</sup> This strongly corroborates that all the *isnāds* recorded by earlier scholars accord with the writings of Yāsīn al-Fādānī. At the same time this also highlights ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī’s esteemed position in the *Ṣūfī Silsilah* of the eighteenth century in the Arab world.

Thus, if we accept the ancestry of ‘Abd al-Jalīl from the traditional account of al-Falimbānī in *Tawārīkh Silsilah* to be accurate, we can give the genealogy of al-Falimbānī as ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd al-Jalīl b. ‘Abd al-Waḥhāb b. Aḥmad al-Maḥdānī, evidently showing that he was a descendant of Arab progenitors who originated from Ṣan‘ā’, Yemen.

It is worth noting that perhaps because of his Arab progenitors, Azyumardi Azra asserts that al-Falimbānī was born to a Sayyid father who according to him accords with both the Malay and Arabic sources that mentioned him as a Sayyid.<sup>28</sup> However, according to my findings it is evident that al-Falimbānī was not a Sayyid and this can be supported by several pieces of evidence.

The first piece of evidence is that with the exception of ‘Abd ar-Razzāq al-Bayṭār, all his biographers such as ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal, Ṣiddīq al-Qannūjī, ‘Aydārūs al-Ḥabshī, ‘Abd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī, and Kaḥḥālāh never mentioned that al-Falimbānī was a Sayyid. It is important to note that al-Bayṭār (1253-1335/1837-1916) lived decades after al-Falimbānī’s period, while the other biographers lived earlier and some even met al-Falimbānī himself. The second evidence, contradictory to al-Bayṭār is ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal who himself was a Sayyid and was one of al-Falimbānī’s closest students who clearly distinguished between his Sayyid and non-Sayyid teachers in his *an-Nafas al-Yamānī* by using ‘Sayyid’ for the first and ‘Shaykh’ for the second, respectively. He certainly did not describe al-Falimbānī as ‘as-Sayyid’ and only refers him as ‘ash-Shaykh al-‘Allāmah etc. ....’<sup>29</sup> In addition, the earlier

mentioned traditional account in *Tawārīkh Silsilah* does not support al-Bayṭār as it too does not indicate that any of al-Falimbānī's ancestors was a Sayyid, though stating that they originated from Ṣan'ā', Yemen. And finally, al-Falimbānī never ascribed the title Sayyid to himself in any of his writings, only describing his work as authored by 'ash-Shaykh 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Jāwī al-Falimbānī'.

## Significance of al-Falimbānī's Birth

Though it is clear that al-Falimbānī originated from Palembang as discussed above, there have never been any clear sources that indicate his year of birth which remains obscure to this day. Nevertheless, deriving from *Tawārīkh Silsilah Negeri Kedah*, Azyumardi Azra assumes that al-Falimbānī was born about 1116/1704, four years after the arrival of his supposed father 'Abd al-Jalīl' in Kedah in 1112/1700.<sup>30</sup> In fact Chatib Quzwain, writing in 1986 had already suggested that al-Falimbānī must have been born three or four years after the appointment of 'Abd al-Jalīl as the new *muftī* of Kedah in 1112/1700.<sup>31</sup>

However, this contradicts *Tawārīkh Silsilah* itself as both Azra and Quzwain fail to observe the date of arrival of 'Abd al-Jalīl together with Sulṭān Muḥammad Jīwā Zayn al-'Ābidīn Mu'aẓẓam Shāh (r. 1710-1778) in Kedah, which was on the 20 Sha'bān 1122/14 October 1710, a decade later.<sup>32</sup> The Sulṭān was a student of 'Abd al-Jalīl himself and after his coronation appointed his teacher the new *muftī* of Kedah.<sup>33</sup> This suggests that it is impossible that al-Falimbānī was born in 1116/1704 as his supposed father 'Abd al-Jalīl had not yet arrived in Kedah by that time. Besides this, I have demonstrated above that 'Abd al-Jalīl was in fact his grandfather.

Furthermore, after a comprehensive search I was able to trace one of al-Falimbānī's earliest teachers in Arabia, 'Imād ad-Dīn Yaḥyā b. 'Umar Maqbūl al-Ahdal (1073-1147/1662-1734). He was the *muftī* of Zabīd and the grandfather of al-Falimbānī's student mentioned earlier, 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān b. Yaḥyā b. 'Umar al-Ahdal, the author of *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*. In fact, the al-Ahdal family occupied a distinguished position in Zabīd as from this family the *muftī* had been appointed for generations, at least four generations successively.<sup>34</sup> As stated by al-Fādānī in his *isnād*,



al-Falimbānī studied al-Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī’s *Bulūgh al-Marām* and all of his other works directly with Yaḥyā al-Ahdal and attended his teaching sessions.<sup>35</sup> Since we know that Yaḥyā al-Ahdal passed away in 1147/1734, al-Falimbānī must have met him at the latest by that. From examining all available biographical notices of Yaḥyā al-Ahdal, it is clear that he never travelled to the Malay Archipelago as did other wandering scholars from Yemen. His biographers point out that he travelled to Mecca only once to perform the *ḥajj* in the year 1106/1694 when he met Aḥmad an-Nakhī (d. 1130/1717), one of the renowned *muḥaddiths* of Mecca at that time.<sup>36</sup> Thus, it is impossible for al-Falimbānī to have met Yaḥyā al-Ahdal either in the Archipelago as the latter had never travelled there, or in Mecca in 1106/1694 as he was not born yet at that time.

As we already know from the works of al-Fādānī, al-Falimbānī only had the opportunity to study the works of Ibn Ḥajar, especially his *Bulūgh al-Marām*, with Yaḥyā al-Ahdal, which very likely indicates that he only met him in the last period of his life or just before his death. We must assume that al-Falimbānī met and studied with him before the year 1147/1734 in Zabīd, as we can calculate backwards from this date and roughly estimate his year of birth. Also, if we take into account Snouck Hurgronje’s observation of the *Jāwī* community in Mecca, it was normal practice among the more religious *Jāwī* parents who could afford it to send their sons at a young age to the Arabic Islamic learning centres, especially Mecca, to study Islamic religious sciences and to perform the *ḥajj*.<sup>37</sup> Though he did not tell us exactly the age of such students, we can observe from biographical notices on *Jāwī* students, especially of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries A.H. (nineteenth and twentieth centuries A.D.), that several of them were sent to Mecca at six and eight years of age, and that perhaps the norm was between twelve and fifteen.<sup>38</sup>

Assuming that al-Falimbānī was fifteen when he first reached the Arabian Peninsula, therefore his birth should have been approximately around the year 1132/1719.<sup>39</sup> This date can be accepted as probable as can be seen later in the discussion of the age-group of scholars with whom al-Falimbānī came in contact and studied with, and from the dates of his works, which will be discussed and elaborated further in subsequent chapters.<sup>40</sup> We have already seen that his genealogy traced back to an Arab family from Ṣan‘ā’, Yemen. Thus it is highly plausible



that his father ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān or his grandfather ‘Abd al-Jalīl, the *mufīī* of Kedah, a prominent religious personality, would have sent him to Yemen to pursue his religious studies at the age of fifteen or perhaps even younger. Moreover, al-Falimbānī through his paternal grandfather must have had relatives back in Yemen to whom he could be entrusted to as his guardians. It is important to note that during his time, Yemen was also regarded among the esteemed centres for traditional Islamic learning with prestigious Islamic scholars. His predecessors such as ‘Abd ar-Ra’ūf as-Sinkīlī studied in three cities in Yemen; al-Mokha (Mocha), Zabīd, and Bayt al-Faqīh, before continuing his studies further in Mecca and Medina. From the list of al-Falimbānī’s teachers, it is evident that he also studied in Yemen, particularly in Zabīd before pursuing his studies further in Mecca and Medina.

Furthermore, the date 1116/1704 which has been suggested as his year of birth by Quzwain and Azra, apart from contradicting *Tawārīkh Silsilah* itself, is also very doubtful as he would have been about sixty-two years old when he wrote and completed his first work, *Zahrāt al-Murīd* in Mecca in 1178/1765. In the context of his time, it seems a highly unrealistic to start a writing career at such an old age. On the contrary, if we accept the suggestion that he was born around 1132/1719, he would have been around forty-six years when he first started his authorship; an age which can be regarded as more acceptable and appropriate to be productive after years of study. Hence, according to my finding, we can confidently accept the year 1132/1719 as the more appropriate date to be the approximate year of birth of al-Falimbānī, unless further evidence contradicts this. However, it is possible that al-Falimbānī might have been born a few years later from the above suggested date if we have further evidence to show that he was younger than fifteen years when he first travelled to Zabīd. Unfortunately, at this stage we do not have any biographical accounts of his father, ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān, who himself could possibly have brought al-Falimbānī to Yemen at a very early age to study with its *‘ulamā’*.

## Conflicting Reports on al-Falimbānī’s Death

There have always been conflicting dates surrounding al-Falimbānī’s life as we can see from the previous discussion. His death is no exception.

According to Azra, al-Bayṭār recorded that al-Falimbānī died after 1200/1785. Thus, he himself suggests that most probably al-Falimbānī died in 1203/1789, the date of completion of his final and most acclaimed work, *Sayr al-Sālikīn*. He also states that although al-Bayṭār does not mention the place where al-Falimbānī died, there is a strong suggestion, according to him, that he died in Arabia.<sup>41</sup>

However, this claim is purely based on an assumption that al-Falimbānī died upon the completion of his final work, *Sayr as-Sālikīn* and not on actual facts from any sources indicating the time and place of his death. His assumption strongly contradicts the fact that al-Falimbānī was still alive for some time after the completion of his *Sayr as-Sālikīn*. This is verified by his earlier mentioned student, ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal who confirmed that he arrived as an established scholar at Zabīd in the year 1206/1791, three years after completing his *Sayr as-Sālikīn*.<sup>42</sup> Moreover, Azra himself does not seem to realize that al-Bayṭār, despite mentioning that al-Falimbānī died after 1200/1785, also quoted from *an-Nafas al-Yamānī* that al-Falimbānī was reported to have arrived in Zabīd in the year 1206/1791, indicating that he was still alive at least up to that year.<sup>43</sup> Probably because al-Falimbānī’s year of death was unknown to al-Bayṭār that he only points out that he died after 1200/1785 and because he reported that al-Falimbānī was alive in 1206/1791 that he included him in his biographical dictionary on scholars from the thirteenth century Hijri. Thus with the above argument, it is evident that al-Falimbānī did not die in 1203/1789 as concluded by Azra.

Another source I found to provide information on al-Falimbānī’s year of death is the work of al-Fādānī in annotating the *thabat* of *al-Muḥaddith al-Musnid* Muḥammad Maḥfūz b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Jāwī at-Tarmasī (d. 1338/1920). In this *thabat* entitled *Kifāyat al-Mustafīd*, he states that the year of death of al-Falimbānī was 1211/1796. However, he does not indicate his source for this.<sup>44</sup> Despite his esteemed position as one of the Meccan prominent *muḥaddiths* in the twentieth century and that he was reported to have written biographical dictionaries on

Shāfi‘ī scholars focusing on the *Jāwī* ‘*ulamā*’, this information is to be treated cautiously. This is due to strong evidence that indicate that al-Falimbānī was still alive after 1211/1796. For one of his *Jāwī* students who studied under him in Mecca, Muḥammad Nawawī b. ‘Umar b. ‘Arabi al-Jāwī al-Bantanī al-Makkī (d. 1314/1896), was not yet born by that year. This can be confirmed from al-Fādānī’s *isnāds* as he frequently recorded in several of his works that he himself received his teachings from his teachers who were students of Nawawī al-Bantanī, who in turn received his teachings from al-Falimbānī himself.<sup>45</sup> According to his biographical accounts, Nawawī al-Bantanī was born in Banten, West Java in 1230/1814 and was said to have left the archipelago for Mecca at the age of fifteen.<sup>46</sup> Therefore, for Nawawī al-Bantanī to have studied directly under al-Falimbānī, he must have met him in Mecca at the earliest by the year 1245/1829, which indicates that al-Falimbānī must have still been alive at that time.

Furthermore, I have also found another student of al-Falimbānī whose biographical notice is available. Again it is from al-Fādānī’s *isnād* that we can trace the Egyptian scholar, ‘Uthmān b. Ḥasan ad-Dimyāṭī al-Miṣrī (1197-1265/1782-1848) as one of al-Falimbānī’s students in Mecca.<sup>47</sup> ‘Uthmān ad-Dimyāṭī was born in Dimyāṭ, Egypt and stayed and taught at the Egyptian prestigious Islamic educational institution, al-Azhar. Eventually he migrated to Mecca in the year 1243/1827 when he must have met with al-Falimbānī.<sup>48</sup> This also proves that al-Falimbānī was still alive and teaching in Mecca during that time. Thus, the year 1211/1796 given by al-Fādānī to be the year of al-Falimbānī’s death cannot be accepted as the above evidence invalidate it.

So far, the only known traditional account to supply the date of al-Falimbānī’s death is the earlier mentioned Muhammad’s *Tawārīkh Silsilah Negeri Kedah*. It is reported that al-Falimbānī was killed in a *jihād* against the Siamese (Thais) in 1244/1828. According to Muhammad, after the Siamese invasion of Kedah (in February 1822), there were several rebellions against the Siamese occupation. Of these, there were two major important uprisings which receive particular attention in historical records. The first was led by Sayyid Zayn al-‘Ābidīn, better known as Tunku Kudin (nephew of the Sulṭān of Kedah); and the second by Tunku Muḥammad Sa‘d. Al-Falimbānī who happened to be in Kedah



visiting his supposedly half brother ‘Abd al-Qādir the *mufīī*, is reported to have participated in this and to have been killed in the *jihād* against the Siamese when the Malays were attacked near the town of Singgora (modern Songkhla), at present in Southern Thailand. Despite providing a rather detailed account of the events, Muhammad fails to supply us with precise dates. He neglects the year for the first uprising and assumes the second event took place in the year 1244/1828.<sup>49</sup>

As the death of al-Falimbānī from this source is directly related to the historical event of both Kedah and Siam (modern Thailand), it is important to consult both the historical records of Kedah and Siam during this period as they can provide clues to the year of death of al-Falimbānī. There appears to be a consensus of historical evidence that the major outbreak in Kedah carried out by Tunku Kudin occurred in January 1831 [1246 A.H.], when he and his supporters successfully drove the Siamese out and gained control of Kedah. About a year later, in April 1832 [1247 A.H.], the Siamese were able to reconquer Kedah, largely because of the British blockade of Kedah coast, thus preventing supplies from Penang from reaching the Malay rebels. The British felt obligated to assist the Siamese due to their pledge in the Burney treaty to prevent supporters of Kedah’s ex-Sulṭān from attacking Kedah. Eventually, Tunku Kudin was killed in the battle.<sup>50</sup>

Six years later, in 1838 [1253 A.H.] another outbreak occurred when Tunku Muḥammad Sa’d and Tunku ‘Abd Allāh (both nephews of the Sulṭān of Kedah) launched another attack on Kedah. The Malay force succeeded in capturing Kedah and advanced upon Trang in Nakhon territory and easily captured it. After the capture of Trang, they marched across the peninsula to attack Singgora, and advanced to within two miles of the town of Songkhla. The Malays continued to hold Kedah while the town of Songkhla remained besieged, and they succeeded in repulsing Siamese attempts to expel them. It was not until February 1839 [Dhū al-Qa’dah 1254 A.H.], that the Siamese with four thousand troops launched a concerted counter attack and finally broke the Malay resistance. By March 1839, Kedah was once again recaptured by the Siamese.

As Muhammad confirmed, the war in which al-Falimbānī is reported to have participated together with Tunku Muḥammad Sa’d, was the second uprising when he was reported to have been killed when



the Siamese attacked the Malays near the town of Songkhla. Therefore the date 1244/1828 that he assumed to be the year of this second war is inaccurate and contradicts all historical records of Kedah and Siam that point out that war did not happen until 1253/1838. Furthermore, the war in 1244/1828, according to historical records, was actually the first uprising led by Tunku Kudin, for which Muhammad did not supply us with any date. In addition, our contemporary Malaysian historian Shamsudin Yusof has shown that the war between Kedah and Siam from 1838 to 1839 led by Tunku Muḥammad Sa'd was clearly recorded in correspondence between Kelantan and Pattani dated 13 Sha'bān 1254/1 November 1838, when the Sulṭān of Kelantan initially wanted to send three thousand men to help the neighbouring Kedah but had to change his decision when he learned that the Kedah Malays were gaining victory in the war and had advanced as far as Songkhla.<sup>51</sup>

From the above discussion, we now know that the Kedah war against the Siamese in which al-Falimbānī is reported to have participated took place in 1253/1838 and it was not until Dhū al-Qa'dah 1254/February 1839 when the Siamese with four thousand troops launched a concerted attack managed to break the Malay resistance in Singgora. Since al-Falimbānī was reported to have died in the town of Singgora, it is highly probable that he was killed during the Siamese concerted attack in Dhū al-Qa'dah 1254/February 1839.

Furthermore, I have found new evidence surrounding the death of al-Falimbānī, as it is documented in one of the manuscript copies of litanies by al-Falimbānī which I consulted. According to this manuscript copy, al-Falimbānī is clearly described as *ash-shahīd* (martyr), which corroborates the account that he was killed in the *jihād* against the Siamese. In addition, an addendum is supplied to this manuscript relating the *ḥawl* (anniversary of the death) of prominent Islamic religious figures including the Prophet SAW, his companions: Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, 'Alī, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās, Hamzah, and 'Ā'ishāh bint Abū Bakr, often referred to by the title 'Mother of the Believers.' Later Islamic scholars are also included such as ash-Shāfi'ī, al-Ghazālī, 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī, Muḥammad as-Sammān and finally al-Falimbānī, whose *ḥawl* is given to be on the night of 17 Dhū al-Qa'dah. Obviously, this addendum to al-Falimbānī's own work is written by one of his

students as he was referred as ‘*shaykhunā*’ (our shaykh).<sup>52</sup> Though the name of the scribe is not supplied, this copy was written on 27 Rejab 1266/8 June 1850.<sup>53</sup>

By analysing all the above evidence, we can now conclude that al-Falimbānī died on 17 Dhū al-Qa‘dah 1254 A.H., the year of the Siamese concerted attack on Kedah. Converting this date to A.D., it agrees with 1 February 1839, which accords with the historical records of Siam concerning their control over Kedah.<sup>54</sup>

The anecdote in *Tawārīkh Silsilah* on the death of al-Falimbānī in the *jihād* against the Siamese can now be supported by new evidence. I found two manuscript copies pointing out that al-Falimbānī was a martyr; in the first copy, he was described as “martyr in the cause of God” (*ash-shahīd fī sabīl Allāh*) and in the second copy, in a line of as-Sammān’s *tawassul* (supplicating God by means of an intermediary) it reads “we supplicate through them ... he is martyr ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad, initial certainty through the Master (as-Sammān), and additional certainty through the martyr” (*faqad tawassalnā bihim ... huwā ash-shahīd ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad, awwal al-yaqīn bi ‘l-ustādh, wa-zād al-yaqīn bi ‘sh-shahīd*).<sup>55</sup> Though no name of the copyist is provided in either manuscript, it is clear that they were scribed by one of ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī’s own students as he describes him as ‘*shaykhunā*’ (our Shaykh) and ‘*ustādhunā*’ (our Professor).<sup>56</sup> It is not surprising that al-Falimbānī joined the *jihād* as he himself produced two tracts on *jihād* in Arabic, the first entitled *Naṣīḥat al-Muslimīn wa-Tadhkirat al-Mu‘minīn*, intended as an advice to the Muslims and reminder for the believers about the virtue of *jihād* and the dignity of the combatant in the cause of God; and the second, an addendum to the exposition of the benefits of striving in the cause of God entitled *Mulḥaq fī Bayān al-Fawā‘id an-Nāfi‘ah fī ‘l-Jihād fī Sabīl Allāh*.<sup>57</sup>

Furthermore, if we take into account the encroachment of European powers in the Arab world, South Asia, as well as in Southeast Asia, we can conclude that all this had triggered the Muslim concern with *jihād* in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. This sentiment can be seen in al-Falimbānī himself. As already observed by Drewes, al-Falimbānī sent two letters in 1772 to the prince of Central Java to introduce two religious figures who most probably were his own disciples returning

to Java as well as a reminder to the Sulṭān of Mataram of the Qur'ānic tradition that those who fall in the *jihād* are not dead but alive. This is in addition to producing two tracts on *jihād* mentioned above. According to Andaya and Ishii it was not only Europeans who were the target of Islamic feeling, for at the same time it was reported that several hundred *hadjis* (pilgrims) led by a '*shaykh*' from Mecca were gathering in Kedah to make war on the infidel Siamese.<sup>58</sup> It is possible that this anonymous '*shaykh*' was al-Falimbānī himself, as he was the only prominent *Jāwī* scholar during that period whom we have found records to have travelled back to Kedah and joined the war against the Siamese.

Such awakening of *jihād* sentiment is found among the *Jāwī* community in Mecca in the nineteenth century. Among the questions posed by the *Jāwī* students to the Meccan *muftī* Aḥmad Daḥlān was asking him for a *fatwā* on the situation when the unbelievers occupied their land and the Muslims were not capable of repelling them. In such a situation, are the unbelievers to be treated and considered as a 'protected people' (*adh-dhimmi*) thus, making it unlawful for their possessions to be taken; or are they to be treated like those with whom we are at war (*al-ḥarbī*)? Aḥmad Daḥlān answered by saying that if the above mentioned unbelievers have a peaceful reconciliation with the Muslims, then it is not permissible to take any of their possessions.<sup>59</sup>

It also appears that there was something in the experience of studying within the network of scholars in the Islamic centres that inspired some students to engage directly in a reformist mission. For instance, as we will see later, one of al-Falimbānī's Syrian teachers, the Damascene Aḥmad b. 'Ubayd al-'Aṭṭār (d. 1218/1803), was reported to have gathered up and called the public for *jihād* against the French occupation of Egypt in 1214/1799. Not only did he gather an army, but he himself participated and marched with the troops to the front line to motivate and give moral support to them.<sup>60</sup> This kind of attitude may explain that of al-Falimbānī himself in wishing to join the *jihād* against the Siamese upon his return to Kedah. However, taking into consideration his age at that time, probably his role and intention to participate in such *jihād* apart from the promised reward in the immortal life in the hereafter, was to provide moral support for the Kedah Malays as he was a highly revered scholar among the *Jāwīs*. Furthermore, since he was



a prominent *Ṣūfī* master, for the Kedah Malays his presence was solely for the sake of anticipating *barakah* from him rather than giving direct military benefit to them.

As concluded earlier, al-Falimbānī’s birth was approximately in the year 1132/1719 and he died in the year 1254/1839, hence, he must have lived for about one hundred and twenty two years. Perhaps to some people, living more than a hundred years might appear unrealistic. However, not only al-Falimbānī but also several of his contemporaries have been reported to have lived to an advanced age. For instance, Shaykh Muḥammad Arshad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Banjārī (1122-1227/1710-1812) was reported to have lived for one hundred and five years, Shaykh ‘Abd al-Wahhāb as-Siantanī (1120-1239/1708-1824) lived for one hundred and nineteen years, Shaykh Wan Muṣṭafā al-Faṭānī lived for one hundred and twenty years, and the most prolific *Jāwī* author, Shaykh Dāwūd b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Idrīs al-Faṭānī (d. 1263/1846) was reported to have lived for more than one hundred years. Like others, he is described by al-Fāḍānī and Mamdūḥ as *al-mu‘ammar* (long-lived).<sup>61</sup> Although one may doubt that they lived to such an advanced age, al-Fāḍānī has frequently described and referred to al-Falimbānī as “*al-mu‘ammar* ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Falimbānī,” indicating that he was granted a long life.<sup>62</sup>

Shaghir Abdullah has argued that the anecdote on the death of al-Falimbānī in the *jihād* can now be further supported by evidence that the grave of al-Falimbānī has recently been discovered between the village of Sekom (Sakom) and Cenak (Chana), in northern Pattani. He states that the site, according to the locals as passed by word of mouth from generation to generation, is believed to have been the grave of al-Falimbānī.<sup>63</sup> Perhaps, with the evidence that I have discussed above, this oral tradition can now be given some acceptance. Though, it is impossible to know for sure where he was precisely buried, at least we now know that he died somewhere in that region during the harsh Siamese response to the Malay rebellions during that time.

Thus, from the available information gathered from various sources and from the above discussion, we can conclude that ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī was killed in the *jihād* against the Siamese on 17 Dhū al-Qa‘dah 1254/1 February 1839.



## Al-Falimbānī's Offspring

Unfortunately there are no biographical accounts of al-Falimbānī that have ever mentioned his marriage, family or offspring. However, we do have evidence regarding his offspring, namely his daughter Fāṭimah bint ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Falimbāniyyah. This information is deduced from her *isnād* which according to al-Fādānī includes among her teachers with whom she studied her own father ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Falimbānī.<sup>64</sup> Perhaps, it was through her father's instruction and guidance that she too later became a learned scholar, described by the title ‘*al-musnidah*’ (a prominent scholar of *ḥadīth* with its *isnād*) and she is said to have compiled her *isnāds* and list of teachers in her *thabat* entitled *al-Fahāris al-Qā’imah fī Asānīd Fāṭimah*.<sup>65</sup> Unfortunately, I have not been able to locate this work despite an extensive search. However, from the list of students who studied with her, it is evident that she was also among the learned scholars of Mecca. Her students include both *Jāwī* and Arab scholars in Mecca such as the earlier mentioned Nawawī al-Bantanī, who also studied with her father before studying with her, Muḥammad Arshad b. As‘ad al-Bantanī better known as Arshad *aṭ-Ṭawīl* (due to his physical height), Muḥammad Azharī b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Falimbānī the author of *Badī‘ az-Zamān fī Bayān ‘Aqā’id ‘l-Īmān*, and the Meccan Egyptian scholar Aḥmad ad-Dimyāṭī who was the *mufī* of the Shāfi‘ī School of Islamic jurisprudence in Mecca.<sup>66</sup> However, apart from the list of students that we can extract from her *isnāds*, there is no further indication or evidence to show whether or not she was married and had offspring.

In addition to Fāṭimah, we also have evidence that al-Falimbānī had other children. This is clearly recorded in a *qaṣīdah* (poem) written by one of his contemporaries, most probably one of his students. This poem clearly indicates that al-Falimbānī had some children. The line of poetry reads “*wa ‘s-sa‘du lāzāla bi ‘l-awlādi muqtarinan* [and may happiness continue upon your children].”<sup>67</sup> As the composer of the *qaṣīdah* himself was a contemporary of al-Falimbānī, this is significant evidence to support the fact that he had other children besides Fāṭimah. However, at this stage, until further information or evidence is found, this is the extent of our knowledge about his children.

## Al-Falimbānī’s Travels

### In the Archipelago: Kedah, Pattani, Aceh and Batavia

There is no clear account available on ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī’s travels in his early years in the Archipelago. However, as his grandfather ‘Abd al-Jalīl was himself a religious teacher who was later appointed as the *mufīī* of Kedah, it is highly probable that he himself instructed and taught al-Falimbānī his rudimentary religious knowledge at the early stage of his age where he must have been brought from Palembang to Kedah to live with him.

Shaghir Abdullah indicates from the traditional narrative of al-Falimbānī’s life, it was ‘Abd al-Jalīl the *mufīī* of Kedah who sent ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad, ‘Abd al-Qādir and Wan ‘Abd Allāh to the *pondok* (traditional Islamic learning institutions) in Pattani, namely, *Pondok Bendang Daya*, *Pondok Bendang Guchil* in Kerisik, *Pondok Kuala Bekah*, and *Pondok Semala*.<sup>68</sup> In addition, Abdullah also asserts that during al-Falimbānī’s early education in Pattani, one of his contemporaries, Dāwūd b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī (1176-1263/1763-1846) attended the same *pondok*.<sup>69</sup> Unfortunately, after an extensive search I found no evidence to corroborate this claim. Moreover, though the two were contemporaneous, it is very unlikely that they would have studied together, as Dāwūd al-Faṭānī was a much younger contemporary to al-Falimbānī and not yet even born when al-Falimbānī was already in Zabīd by the year 1147/1734.

Further, my investigation to see if these *pondoks* already existed in the early eighteenth century has revealed no real evidence as to when the first *pondok* of Pattani was founded, or the dates of establishment of these schools or any records of their teachers.<sup>70</sup> Nevertheless, religious schools are essential components in any Muslim town and throughout the traditional Muslim world there was always a nexus between the people and the ‘*ulamā*’. As well as taking into account that it is a common practice among the *Jāwī* to send their children at a very early age to such *pondok* to learn and acquire the basic Islamic religious knowledge which includes Qur’ānic recitation (*tilāwah*) with its art of intonation (*tajwīd*), as well as elements of *tawhīd*, *fiqh*, *naḥw* (grammar), *ṣarf* (morphology),

*ḥadīth*, *taṣawwuf*, etc. Therefore, it is more than likely that al-Falimbānī must have studied at such local institutions apart from studying with his grandfather ‘Abd al-Jalīl to acquire the basic Islamic knowledge before pursuing his studies further in the Islamic learning centres of the Arab world. Moreover, from his *nisbah* al-Ashī discussed earlier, we have also concluded that he must have travelled and studied in Aceh, perhaps after studying in Kedah and Pattani. Though we do not have exact records on these travels, we do know that al-Falimbānī must have travelled and studied at these local institutions prior to 1147/1734 as we had deduced earlier that he was already in Zabīd by that year.

Later, after thirty five years of study and teaching in *al-Ḥaramayn*; thirty years in Mecca and five years in Medina and a sojourn in Zabīd, ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī together with his *Jāwī* contemporaries and friends, including Muḥammad Arshad al-Banjārī, ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Bugīsī, and ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Batāwī al-Miṣrī, were reported to have travelled back to the archipelago. Perhaps this travel back to the archipelago, the first recorded since al-Falimbānī left for his studies, was a brief travel undertaken to visit his family and relatives back home as we find him back in Mecca shortly after this travel. This journey already mentioned earlier, is recorded by ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān Ṣiddīq b. Muḥammad ‘Afīf al-Jāwī al-Banjārī (1857-1939) in two places. The first, in the genealogical account of his maternal grandfather Arshad al-Banjārī and his offspring entitled *Risālat Shajarah al-Arshadiyah al-Banjariyah*. The second, in a brief biographical account of al-Falimbānī’s scholarship and travels written on the title page of the Singapore printed edition of his *Hidāyat as-Sālikīn*. Ṣiddīq al-Banjārī informs us that his grandfather, Arshad al-Banjārī, together with ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī, went back to the archipelago, first arriving at Penang and then continued on to Singapore and from thence to Batavia.<sup>71</sup>

According to Ṣiddīq al-Banjārī, they reached Batavia and stayed for two months, where they had scholarly discussions and debates on different Islamic religious issues, including the precise direction of *Qiblah* (the direction of the *Ka’bah* which one must face while praying) for the mosques in Batavia. These debates and discussions, according to Ṣiddīq al-Banjārī are recorded by Arshad al-Banjārī in his Malay record book entitled *Diwān Perjalanan Mawlanā* or records of our master’s travels.



Unfortunately, I have not been able to find any trace of this work. It was from Batavia that they separated to return to their homeland; Arshad al-Banjārī together with ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Bugīsī, who later married his daughter Sharīfah and became his son-in-law, continued to travel to Banjar and arrived in Ramaḍān 1186/November 1772, while ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī himself returned to Palembang.<sup>72</sup>

Furthermore, we can now confirm the above stated travel as I found new evidence to substantiate this. According to the *muftī* of Batavia, ‘Uthmān b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Aqīl b. Yaḥyā al-‘Alawī al-Batāwī (1237-1331/1822-1913) in his *Taḥrīr Aqwā al-Adillah*, a work he compiled on Islamic jurisprudence and evidence on the obligation to face the precise direction of *Qiblah*, he points out that Arshad al-Banjārī was requested by the ‘*ulamā*’ of Batavia, led by ‘Abd al-Qahhār, to verify the precise direction of the *Qiblah* upon his arrival in Batavia on 2 Rabī‘ al-Ākhir 1186/3 July 1772. Later, based on his intellectual reasoning from the evidence of Islamic jurisprudence and his knowledge on ‘*ilm al-falak*’ (astronomy), it was agreed that the precise direction of the *Qiblah* was twenty two and a half degrees to the right of the initial direction.<sup>73</sup>

It is highly probable that during his first travel back to Palembang in 1186/1772, al-Falimbānī only stayed for a relatively short period and was soon to return back to Mecca. This theory can be supported as I found strong evidence to show that he was already back in Mecca by 1187/1773 when he completed his epistle on *jihād* entitled *Naṣīḥat al-Muslimīn wa-Tadhkirat al-Mu‘minīn fī Faḍā’il al-Jihād* on the 25 Jumādā al-Ūlā 1187/14 August 1773. Also, perhaps it was his direct observations of the encroachment of the Dutch in the Archipelago during his home travel that inspired him to write his epistle on *jihād*.

The second and last journey of al-Falimbānī back to the Archipelago of which we have record is his travel to Kedah. As already discussed above, he is reported to have travelled to Kedah to meet Kedah’s *muftī*, ‘Abd al-Qādir. Upon his arrival, he was reported to have been invited by Tunku Muḥammad Sa’d and ‘Abd al-Qādir to join the *jihād* against the Siamese where he was reported to have been killed by the Siamese in 1254/1839. It is important to remember that taking into account al-Falimbānī’s advanced age, it is more likely that rather than being an actual participant in fighting, he was present there and was killed when



the concerted Siamese attack on Kedah took place. Thus, his second journey back to the Archipelago, this time to Kedah instead of Palembang, was in fact his last.

### His Visits to Islamic Learning Centres in the Arab World: Zabīd, Mecca, Medina, Jeddah, aṭ-Ṭā'if, Damascus and Egypt

There is no direct account available on his travels in the Arab world during his early life as a scholar. The only account that relates to his early travel to Islamic learning centres was from the already mentioned *Tawārīkh Silsilah*. According to this source, it was 'Abd al-Jalīl, the *muftī* of Kedah, who dispatched him and his half brother 'Abd al-Qādir to study in Mecca, Arabia.<sup>74</sup> Probably, 'Abd al-Jalīl sent them both to Mecca after completing their elementary Islamic religious education in Kedah, Pattani and Aceh as mentioned above. Unfortunately, no dates or any further information on this is supplied in this source.

However, by critically examining the list of al-Falimbānī's known teachers as mentioned in various sources, and based on the year of death and domicile of these teachers, and other contemporary scholars with whom he came into contact, as well as the dates he generally provides on completing his works, I was able to deduce his approximate dates of travel and sojourns in the Arab world as well as names of various Islamic learning centres he visited to study or teach.

Among his earliest teachers in Arabia was the Shāfi'ī *muftī* of Zabīd, Yaḥyā b. 'Umar Maqbūl al-Ahdal. From the domicile of Yaḥyā al-Ahdal, not only do we learn that al-Falimbānī travelled to Zabīd to study with him, but we can also deduce that he was already in Zabīd at the latest by the year 1147/1734, before al-Ahdal's death. Another teacher of al-Falimbānī in Zabīd was Yaḥyā al-Ahdal's maternal nephew and student, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar Sharīf Maqbūl al-Ahdal (1109-63/1697-1749).<sup>75</sup> From known biographical details, Aḥmad al-Ahdal was also an erudite scholar of Zabīd who inherited his uncle's knowledge and assumed his teaching activity after his death. Thus, it is very likely that al-Falimbānī studied with him after Yaḥyā al-Ahdal's death from 1147/1734 onwards and perhaps stayed with him till the late 1150s/1740s. This is

highly probable if we take into account the numerous Islamic religious disciplines that al-Falimbānī studied with him including *fiqh*, *ḥadīth*, *tafsīr* (exegesis of Qur’ānic verses), sciences of *ḥadīth*, *tawḥīd*, *uṣūl al-fiqh* (Principles of Islamic jurisprudence), *qawā’id al-fiqh* (Maxims of Jurisprudence), *naḥw* and *ṣarf* (grammar and syntax).<sup>76</sup>

It is evident that during his scholarship in Yemen, al-Falimbānī was not only able to establish a scholarly connection but later also forged a strong teacher-student nexus with Yemeni ‘*ulamā*’, especially with the al-Ahdal family in Zabīd.<sup>77</sup> Not only did he become the disciple of the *mufīī* of Zabīd, Yaḥyā al-Ahdal, and consecutively also his maternal nephew and student, Aḥmad al-Ahdal, but in later years he also enjoyed a respected career as a teacher in Zabīd, where his students included among others, ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal who was also the *mufīī* and grandson of Yaḥyā al-Ahdal. It is also important to point out that another *mufīī* of Zabīd, Sulaymān al-Ahdal (1137-97/1724-82) was the son of Yaḥyā al-Ahdal and father of ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal respectively. Not only these three generations were esteemed ‘*ulamā*’ of Zabīd but all of them were appointed as the Shāfi‘ī *mufīī* of Zabīd successively.

Evidently, Sulaymān al-Ahdal was contemporaneous to al-Falimbānī though probably al-Falimbānī was slightly older than him. As already mentioned, we know that Sulaymān al-Ahdal’s father and son were teacher and student of al-Falimbānī respectively, it is therefore reasonable to assume that he came into contact with him as well during his sojourn in Zabīd, especially taking into account the fact that Sulaymān assumed the official role as the *mufīī* after his father. However, we do not possess evidence to show that al-Falimbānī formally studied with him or instructed him. In any case, we can take it that they were contemporaries and most probably friends and fellow scholars.

Furthermore, from their teacher-student links, it can also be observed that unlike al-Falimbānī who studied directly under Yaḥyā al-Ahdal, Sulaymān al-Ahdal, as he points out, only studied the Qur’ān directly with his father and received other Islamic sciences by way of *ijāzah* from him, since he was only about ten years old when his father died. In addition to Yaḥyā al-Ahdal, both al-Falimbānī and Sulaymān al-Ahdal had mostly studied with the same Arab teachers, including scholars such as Aḥmad al-Ahdal, ‘Umar b. Aḥmad as-Saqqāf al-Makkī,

‘Aṭā’ Allāh al-Miṣrī, ‘Abd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm Mīrghanī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Jawharī and Muḥammad b. Aḥmad as-Saffārīnī.<sup>78</sup> According to al-Kattānī, Sulaymān al-Ahdal was one of Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī’s chief teachers in Yemen and the latter included a biographical notice on Sulaymān in his *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*. On the other hand, Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī was one of al-Falimbānī’s teachers in Egypt, as we will see later. In addition, according to al-Fādānī, Sulaymān al-Ahdal was also a student of ‘Āqib Ḥasan ad-Dīn al-Falimbānī, who was also, as we will see later, a teacher of ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī in Medina.<sup>79</sup> Thus, not only did al-Falimbānī have a strong teacher-student nexus with the al-Ahdal family, he also constitutes part of the intellectual scholarly network in Zabīd through his teaching career there.

From al-Falimbānī’s list of known teachers, I also have extracted evidence that in 1160/1747 he was already studying in Mecca with one of the prominent Meccan scholars, Sālīm b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Sālīm al-Baṣrī (d. 1160/1747). Sālīm al-Baṣrī himself was the son of the renowned seventeenth century Meccan *muḥaddith* ‘Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī al-Makkī (1048-1134/1638-1722), and like his father was also an authority on various Islamic religious disciplines especially in *ḥadīth* narrations. Unlike the numerous Islamic religious sciences al-Falimbānī studied with Aḥmad al-Ahdal as mentioned earlier, he only studied two works with Sālīm al-Baṣrī, namely *Sunan Ibn Mājah*, one of the six major canonical collections of *ḥadīth*, and Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Jārabardī’s (d. 746/1345) *Sharḥ ash-Shāfiyah*, a commentary on a popular work on etymology *ash-Shāfiyah* by Ibn al-Ḥājjib (d. 646/1248).<sup>80</sup> This perhaps indicates that al-Falimbānī only studied with Sālīm al-Baṣrī presumably in the last years of his life.

As I have already mentioned in the previous chapter, by examining references to the places and dates which al-Falimbānī usually provides when he began his works or completed them, we can extract some information on his intellectual life and literary activities. Furthermore, the list of his teachers that he often mentions in these works usually gives us clear indications as to when he studied with them. For instance, from the date of completion of his first scholarly work, *Zahrat al-Murīd* in Mecca in 1178/1765, not only do we learn that he studied with the visiting Egyptian professor of al-Azhar, Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Mun‘im ad-



Damanhūrī (d. 1192/1778), but he also mentioned some of his earlier teachers with whom he had studied prior to completing this work, such as ‘Aṭā’ Allāh b. Aḥmad b. ‘Aṭā’ Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Azhārī al-Miṣrī al-Makkī ash-Shāfi‘ī. Though no record on his date of birth is available from biographical dictionaries, this scholar was clearly born in Egypt and later, after completing his education at al-Azhar, migrated to Mecca, or, as al-Kattānī describes, he became *nazīl al-Ḥaramayn* (a resident of Mecca and Medina), where he died after 1186/1772.<sup>81</sup>

Furthermore, though the year of his migration to Mecca is unknown to biographers, what we can deduce from al-Falimbānī’s *Zahrāt al-Murīd* is that ‘Aṭā’ Allāh al-Miṣrī must have migrated to Mecca prior to 1178/1765, as his *nisbah* was described by al-Falimbānī as “Shaykh ‘Aṭā’ Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Miṣrī al-Azhārī *thumma* (then later) al-Makkī”; thus, he has already migrated to Mecca when al-Falimbānī wrote his work.<sup>82</sup> Probably, al-Falimbānī studied with ‘Aṭā’ Allāh al-Miṣrī in Egypt before he migrated to Mecca as I have found further evidence that he also studied in Egypt with some of its prominent scholars such as Aḥmad ash-Shihāb b. ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ b. Yūsuf al-Mujīrī al-Mullawī (d. 1182/1767), Aḥmad b. Ḥasan b. ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Khālīdī al-Jawharī (d. 1182/1768), Dāwūd b. Sulaymān b. Aḥmad al-Kharibtāwī al-Miṣrī (d. 1170/1757), and Muḥammad Murtaḍā Abū al-Fayḍ b. Muḥammad az-Zabīdī (d. 1205/1790).<sup>83</sup>

In addition to Zabīd and Egypt, based on the evidence from al-Fādānī’s report, the year of death and domicile of his remaining teachers, he also travelled widely in the Arabian Peninsula to study in Mecca, Medina, Jeddah, aṭ-Ṭā’if, and he also travelled to Damascus.<sup>84</sup>

Al-Falimbānī was reported in general to have studied for thirty five years in *al-Ḥaramayn*; thirty years in Mecca and five years in Medina.<sup>85</sup> From the dates he himself provides, we know that his first three works were completed in Mecca between 1178/1765 and 1181/1767, and his next dated works were completed between 1187/1773 and 1203/1789, in Mecca and aṭ-Ṭā’if. Thus we can deduce that the five years al-Falimbānī studied in Medina must have been from 1181/1767 to 1186/1772, before his first return journey back to his home country. This assumption is further supported by al-Falimbānī’s own works. Among his teachers in Medina were Shaykh Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī al-Madanī (d.



1194/1780), who was the Shāfi'ī *mufī* of Islamic jurisprudence in the City of the Prophet SAW, and the highly venerated eighteenth century *Ṣūfī* master in Medina, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān (d. 1189/1775). Furthermore, by carefully examining al-Falimbānī's works, it is evident that he only studied with as-Sammān after 1181/1767, as none of his first three works mentioned as-Sammān but gave a clear indication that by that time he had not met him or become his disciple. On the other hand, all of his works written in 1187/1773 and afterwards never fail to mention his teacher as-Sammān whom he venerated highly and regarded as an exemplary '*walī qutb*' (pole in the mystical hierarchy of saints) of his time.

However, as I will follow with further discussions on his teachers in the next following chapters, suffice it to say here that by examining information regarding his teachers and his own works, we can highlight his travels and studies in Jeddah, aṭ-Ṭā'if, Zabīd, Egypt, and Damascus, in addition to his well-known lengthy sojourn in Mecca and Medina.

## Al-Falimbānī's Characteristic

It is clear that 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī earned a distinguished position as one of the highly revered *Jāwī 'ulamā'* in the eighteenth century. Not only was he admired by his compatriots, but also by his Arab disciples through his teaching careers in Mecca and Zabīd. Therefore, he must have some distinguished character and distinctive personality. From his own works, one of his characteristics that we can extract is that he was a humble man as he always signed himself with the modest title, 'the servant of the poor in Mecca' (*khādim al-fuqarā' fī Makkah*). It is a common practice among the traditional Islamic scholars and professors, particularly those with a *Ṣūfī* connection, to take pride in using modest titles such as 'servant of knowledge' (*khādim al-'ilm*), 'servant of Prophetic traditions' (*khādim as-sunnah*), 'servant of the Qur'ān' (*khādim al-Qur'ān*), 'servant of *ḥadīth* in the Sacred Precinct of Mecca' (*khādim al-ḥadīth fī l-ḥaram al-Makkī*), 'servant of the scholars' (*khādim al-'ulamā'*), and so on.

However, it can be argued that the modest title *khādim al-fuqarā'* that al-Falimbānī assigned to himself possibly tells us of his circumstances;

to be able to support and assist the poor, to some extent, he must have been well off financially. On the other hand, the *fuqarā’* here may refer to the *Ṣūfīs* as well, perhaps combining too aspects of his personality. Furthermore, he himself clearly states that among the good deeds he encourages is to feed and give clothes to the poor and destitute.<sup>87</sup> Thus, it is not inconceivable to assume that he must have somehow received financial support probably from the Sultān of Kedah, perhaps through his grandfather who was the *mufīī* of Kedah at that time, or possibly from the Sultān of Palembang who was known to be a patron of the ‘*ulamā’*’ of Palembang. The practice of supporting religious scholars and students is not unusual as it was the tradition of the rulers from the Archipelago to send financial support to the *Jāwī* ‘*ulamā’*’ and even purchase land and houses in Mecca for the purpose of establishing religious endowment (*waqf*). This is evident for instance, in the case of his contemporary, Muḥammad Arshad al-Banjārī, who was sent to study in Mecca by the Sultān of Banjar. The latter also bought him a house known as ‘Barḥat Banjar’ at his own expense.<sup>88</sup> We know that al-Fādānī lists among his Meccan teachers whom he met and studied with a certain ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Maḥmūd b. Arshad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Banjārī al-Makkī (d. 1370/1951), obviously a descendant of Arshad al-Banjārī. He attended his lectures both at al-Masjid al-Ḥarām and at his residence ‘Barḥat Banjar’ in the district of ash-Shāmiyyah in Mecca.<sup>89</sup>

Furthermore, al-Falimbānī’s financial condition probably can be depicted from his biographical account recorded in the earlier mentioned *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*. His closest student, ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal says that “our shaykh did not see any value for this world, and his magnanimity and generosity are regarded as a wonder of wonders. One of his praiseworthy students [once] asked him for a book to get the blessing of it, [our Shaykh] admitted him to his private library (*khizānat kutubihi*) and said, “with pleasure, please take from it whatever you like” and he insisted on him to do so and the student took a number of precious books of great value.”<sup>90</sup> Not only have we learned that al-Falimbānī was capable financially to acquire such books, but this also tells us that his sojourn in Zabīd must have been a considerable time, as he managed to collect a personal library, or perhaps he travelled with his books.

In addition, perhaps from Snouck Hurgronje's description of daily life and customs in Mecca in the late nineteenth century, we can extract evidence to help us understand similar financial circumstances to those experienced by al-Falimbānī and his contemporaries. According to him, during the hottest time of the year, the 'well to do' people of Mecca travels two days eastward to aṭ-Ṭā'if, where the air is so cool and the neighbouring gardens so beautiful that the Meccan tradition says, "God to please 'His neighbours' [i.e. the people of Mecca], has transplanted this piece of land [i.e. aṭ-Ṭā'if] from Syria to Arabia." However if the *Hajj* season falls in that time of year, this pleasure is lost to the Meccan; on the other hand if the heat reaches its highest point in the month of Ramaḍān, the fasting month, the Meccans then have a double advantage, escaping the summer heat, and for thirst, the worst hardship of the faster, is not a serious matter in aṭ-Ṭā'if.<sup>91</sup>

The customary tradition of the 'well to do' Meccan possibly can be used to support al-Falimbānī circumstances. We know that from his own writings, at least two of his works were completed in aṭ-Ṭā'if and presumably it was not a mere coincidence that both works, the second and fourth volumes of his *Sayr as-Sālikīn* were completed in Ramaḍān, on 19 Ramaḍān 1195/8 September 1781 and 20 Ramaḍān 1203/14 June 1789 respectively. Both would have been hot months in Mecca. Though this is the only record we have to show his sojourn in aṭ-Ṭā'if, possibly he travelled frequently to this mountainous city, especially, as one of his teachers was from aṭ-Ṭā'if.<sup>92</sup> Perhaps al-Falimbānī was one of the 'well to do' Meccans of his times who retreated to aṭ-Ṭā'if during the hottest months, particularly if this coincided with Ramaḍān.

Another characteristic of al-Falimbānī is that he was a well versed scholar virtually in every Islamic religious and philological discipline, though his focus and attention was more towards Ṣūfīsm. This is evident from the testimony of 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal who describes him, among other things, as 'the great scholar' (*al-'allāmah*), 'the saint' (*al-walī*), 'the deeply understanding' (*al-fahhāmah*), 'the pious' (*at-taqī*) and 'notable of Islam' (*wajīh al-Islām*). According to him, al-Falimbānī was one of the practicing scholars (*al-'ulamā' al-Āmilīn*) and among those who had facility in virtually every aspect of the Islamic sciences who studied with the scholars of his period from among the people of



*al-Ḥaramayn ash-Sharīfayn* (Mecca and Medina). He added that al-Falimbānī was among the productive ‘*ulamā*’ and master of knowledge of many fields. But it was an indication of his great interest in Ṣūfism that he directed most of his attention to studying, explaining and teaching al-Ghazālī’s *Iḥyā’ ‘Ulūm ad-Dīn*.<sup>93</sup>

In addition, ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal points out that one aspect of his teacher’s special method was that when a student came to him, he would ask him at length about his circumstances and once he realized that the student was consistent in a good trait, he would lengthen his praise on that trait, and he would expound on its rules and morals to increase the student adherence to it and ensure that he would be well informed with sufficient insight.<sup>94</sup> ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī’s intellectual personality is also obvious from the advice he gave to ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal upon his student’s arrival to meet him. As his student was a young *muftī*, he explained to him the ethics and manners of giving legal opinion (*fatwā*) and that a *muftī* ought to not be confined merely to the question being asked as this is not sufficient. For if he has knowledge of the situation [surrounding the questions] he must take it into consideration in his answer, as this has within it religious benefits that are known to the practitioner in this field.<sup>95</sup>

It is important to remember that ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal, while being a student of al-Falimbānī, was at the same time the *muftī* of Zabīd. Obviously to find a *muftī* studying with him and venerating him highly is more than enough evidence to demonstrate al-Falimbānī’s esteemed position as a teacher in Zabīd. Furthermore, his advice on the ethics of *fatwā* certainly indicates that he himself was among the adepts who had facility in various Islamic religious sciences.

Another distinctive feature of al-Falimbānī’s scholarship was that he was the ardent disciple of the leading Ṣūfī master, ash-Shaykh Muḥammad as-Sammān. We can learn from his works that he was particularly known as his *khalīfah* (successor). Indeed al-Falimbānī in turn spread further al-Khalwatiyyah as-Sammāniyyah Order among his *Jāwī* students and among *Jāwī* pilgrims.<sup>96</sup>

Further description of ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī’s personality is recorded in part of a *qaṣīdah* already mentioned earlier in passing. This *qaṣīdah* was probably written by one of al-Falimbānī’s students who



copied one of his works on modality of the *Khatm al-Qur'ān* (completion of reading of the entire Qur'ān), particularly on Wednesday afternoon, entitled *Kayfiyyat Khatm Yawm ar-Rabū' fī Waqt al-ʿAṣr*.<sup>97</sup> The poem reads as follows:

*yudīmu niʿmatahu mā li-ayyāmu dāʿimatum*  
Continuous blessing as long as days last  
*ʿalā ʿl-ladhī qad ʿalā fakhran ʿalā ʿl-baladi*  
Upon he who has excelled in honour over this city (Mecca)  
*ash-Shaykh ʿAbd aṣ-Ṣamad qad ʿazza jānibuhu*  
Shaykh ʿAbd aṣ-Ṣamad who became highly respected  
*bi ʿl-ʿilmi wa ʿl-ḥilmi wa ʿl-iḥsāni wa ʿl-madadi*  
With knowledge, forbearance, charity and assistance  
*mulāzim al-Ḥarami al-Makkī dāʿimatan*  
Constantly devoting himself in al-Ḥarām Mosque  
*yaṭūfu bi ʿl-bayti wa ʿl-arkāni mujtahidi*  
Circumambulating the Kaʿbah and its corners with diligence  
*kadhālika al-khamsatu al-awqātu mulāzimun*  
Likewise to the five daily prayers he is devoted  
*maʿa ʿl-jamāʿati daʿban fī masāʾ wa-ghadi*  
Joining the congregational prayers consistently evening and morning  
*yaḥujju fī kulli ʿāmin laysā yaqtaʿuhu*  
Yearly performing the Ḥajj without fail  
*hadhā saʿīdun rashīdun dāʿima ʿl-abadi*  
This is everlasting happiness and eternal guidance  
*bi-ḥubbi āl ʿn-nabī lāzāla muʿtaqidan*<sup>98</sup>  
To the love of the Family of the Prophet SAW he always adhere  
*Allāh yarʿāhu min sūʿin wa-min nakadi*  
May Allāh safeguard him from evil and fractiousness  
*Ash-Shaykh ʿAbd aṣ-Ṣamad lāzāla fī niʿamin*  
May Shaykh ʿAbd aṣ-Ṣamad thrive in blessed bounty  
*wa-fī ṣālahin wa-maḥfūzin min ʿl-ḥasadi*  
In goodness and protected from envy  
*wa-man yuʿādīhi fī sūʿin wa-fī taʿabin*  
And may whoever antagonizes him fall in hardship and exhaustion  
*wa-fī balāʿin wa-fī hammin wa-min nakadi*  
And in adversity, solicitude and fractiousness  
*muḥibbu āli ʿn-nabī lāzāla murtaqiyān*<sup>99</sup>  
In his love of the Prophet's SAW family may he continue to ascend

*wa-man yu‘ādīhi fī ḡhammin wa-fī kamadi*  
And may whoever opposes him fall in solicitude and dejection  
*yā Shaykh ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad abshir bi-khayrāt*  
O Shaykh ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad rejoice with the tidings of blessing  
*dunyā wa-ukhrā wa-sa‘dīn dā‘īman abadī*  
In this World and in the Hereafter, with lasting felicity  
*wa ‘s-sa‘du lāzāla bi ‘l-awlādi muqtarinan*  
And may happiness continue upon your children  
*fadum wa-‘ish fī hanā ‘ayshin wa-fī raghadi*  
So live continuously with happiness and in abundance  
*‘alayka minnī salāman dā‘īman abadi*  
Upon you my lasting salutation without end  
*mādāma yuktabu fī abyāḍin bi ‘s-sawādi*  
As long as black [ink] is written on white [paper]

Finally, in addition to being widely known as a *Ṣūfī* scholar, it is clear that, as a jurist, al-Falimbānī adhered to the Shāfi‘ī *Madhhab*, and was a follower of the Ash‘arite School of Islamic theology. This is evident from one of his own writings as he describes himself as “‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Jāwī al-Falimbānī ash-Shāfi‘ī al-Ash‘arī aṣ-Ṣūfī.”<sup>100</sup> He is mostly known as a *Ṣūfī* scholar because of his great interest in Sūfism for which he devoted most of his writings, particularly studying and teaching al-Ghazālī’s writings especially his *Iḥyā’ ‘Ulūm ad-dīn* and *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah*. He was also a *faqīh* (jurist) as he authored at least two works specifically on *fiqh*, in addition to the numerous *masā’il fiqhiyyah* (questions on jurisprudence) in his other writings. Perhaps this is why al-Fādānī also refers to al-Falimbānī as the manifold old scholar and the old or long-lived jurist; ‘al-‘Allāmah al-Mu‘ammar ash-Shaykh ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad’ and as ‘al-Faqīh al-Mu‘ammar ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad.’<sup>101</sup>

## Endnotes

- <sup>1</sup> The transliteration of his *nisbah* “al-Falimbānī” is recorded in modern works with different spellings, namely al-Palimbānī, al-Palembānī, al-Filimbānī, al-Falembānī, al-Felimbānī, etc. This word is derived from the Arabicized form, in a similar way that Aceh is spelt as Ashī in Arabic, Padang as Fādān, Langkat as Lānkāt, Lampong as Lāmfūn, etc.

- <sup>2</sup> All people of Malay race in Arabia are included under this name, Jāwī (plural Jāwah or Jāwiyyīn) and all lands populated by them are called inclusively *Bilād al-Jāwah*. See Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Later Part of 19<sup>th</sup> Century*, p. 215.
- <sup>3</sup> See Muhammad, *Tawārīkh Silsilah*, p. 207.
- <sup>4</sup> Al-Ashī is a *nisbah* derived from Aceh of North Sumatra. See al-Fādānī, *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, pp. 2, 16, 17, 29, 80, 122; idem, *al-Wāfī*, pp. 5, 16, 43, 47, 48, 60, 77, passim; idem, *Fayḍ al-Mubdī*, p. 11; idem, *al-Qawl al-Jamīl Bi-Ijāzat Samāḥat as-Sayyid Ibrāhīm b. ʿUmar b. ʿAqīl* (Jakarta, Attahiriyah, s.a.), p. 21; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 169.
- <sup>5</sup> See below, for exceptions.
- <sup>6</sup> See Voorhoeve, P., “‘Abd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Palimbānī” in *EF*, vol. 1, p. 92.
- <sup>7</sup> See Chambert-Loir, “‘Abduṣṣamad al-Falimbani Sebagai Ulama Jawi,” pp. vi, x.
- <sup>8</sup> See al-Falimbānī, ʿAbd aṣ-Ṣamad, *Zahrat al-Murīd fī Bayān Kalimat at-Tawḥīd* (MSS Leiden University), Or. 7313, p. 2b; Or. 7667, p. 2a. Cf. Abdullah, *Syeikh Abdus Shamad*, pp. 5-6.
- <sup>9</sup> For a list of his works, see Heer, *A Concise Handlist*, p. 41.
- <sup>10</sup> See al-Falimbānī, ʿAbd aṣ-Ṣamad, *Zahrat al-Murīd fī Bayān Kalimat at-Tawḥīd* (MS Islamic Arts Museum Malaysia), MI 180, fol. 2.
- <sup>11</sup> See Abdullah, *Syeikh Abdus Shamad*, pp. 5, 6, 9; idem, *Al-ʿUrwatul Wutsqa*, p. v.
- <sup>12</sup> See Ibn al-Faqīh, ʿAbd aṣ-Ṣamad b. Faqīh Ḥusayn b. Faqīh Muḥammad, *Anīs al-Muttaqīn* (lithographic reproduction, s.l., s.n., s.a.), p. 3; (MSS University of Leiden), Or. 7049, p. 65.
- <sup>13</sup> See Abdullah, *Syeikh Abdus Shamad*, pp. 1, 2, 5, 6, 131; idem, *Penyebaran Islam*, vol. 9, p. 43.
- <sup>14</sup> Further discussion will follow in Chapter 5.
- <sup>15</sup> See Quzwain, *Mengenal Allah*, p. 4; Abdullah (d. 2007), Wan Mohd. Shaghbir, *Perkembangan Ilmu Fiqh dan Tokoh-Tokohnya di Asia Tenggara I* (Solo, Ramadhani, 1985), p. 90; Abdullah, Hawash, *Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawuf dan Tokoh-Tokohnya di Nusantara* (Surabaya, Al Ikhlas, 1930), p. 90. Abdullah reported that he visited the graveyard of ʿAbd al-Jalīl in 1992 which is situated in Tanjung Pauh, Jitra, Kedah, and the inscription on the tombstone tells us that he died in 1196/1782; see Abdullah, *Syeikh Abdus Shamad*, p. 9; idem, *Penyebaran Islam dan Silsilah Ulama Sejagat Dunia Melayu* (Kuala Lumpur, Persatuan Pengkajian Khazanah Klasik Nusantara & Khazanah Fathaniyah, 2000), vol. 8, p. 27.

- <sup>16</sup> See Muhammad, *Tawārīkh Silsilah*, pp. 1, 206-7, 419. The Romanised version was later published as *al-Tārikh Salasilah Negeri Kedah* by Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur, 1968.
- <sup>17</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 112, 207, 419.
- <sup>18</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 206-7.
- <sup>19</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-‘Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 138; idem, *Iḥāf al-Bararah*, p. 10; idem, *al-Wāfī*, pp. 6, 134; idem, *an-Nafḥat al-Miskiyyah*, p. 5; idem, *Nahj as-Salāmah fī Ijāzah aṣ-Ṣafī Aḥmad Aḥmad Salāmah* (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Beirut, Dār al-Bashā’ir al-Islāmiyyah, 1409/1989), p. 10; idem, *al-Qawl al-Jamīl*, p. 22; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, pp. 43, 169; vol. 3, p. 21.
- <sup>20</sup> See Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism*, p. 113.
- <sup>21</sup> See al-Falimbānī, ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Jāwī, *Zahrāt al-Murīd fī Bayān Kalimat at-Tawḥīd* (Mecca, Maṭba‘at at-Taraqqī al-Mājidiyyah, 1331/1912), pp. 1, 2, 12; (MS National Library of Malaysia), MSS 1906, p. 2. A lithographed copy of another manuscript which bears the name ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān is also printed in Abdullah, *Hidayatus Salikin Shaykh Abdus Shamad*, vol. 3, p. 183.
- <sup>22</sup> See al-Falimbānī, ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Jāwī, *al-‘Urwat al-Wuthqā wa-Silsilat al-Walī al-Atqā*, (MSS National Library of Malaysia), MSS 2086, pp. 1, 2, 21. Cf. idem, *op. cit.*, MSS 2490, fol. 38; MSS 2865, fol. 13.
- <sup>23</sup> See al-Falimbānī, ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Jāwī, *Zād al-Muttaqīn fī Tawḥīd Rabb al-‘Ālamīn* (MSS National Library of Malaysia), MSFB 1004, fol. 1.
- <sup>24</sup> Zabīd is a town on Yemen’s western costal plain. The town, named after Wādi Zabīd, is one of the oldest towns in Yemen; it was the capital of Yemen from the 13<sup>th</sup> to the 15<sup>th</sup> century and a renowned centre of Islamic learning. Its standing is attested not only in local histories but also in local historical memory today as the local drivers, according to Feener still shout out: “*Zabīd, madīnat al-‘ulamā*” (Zabīd, City of the Scholars!) upon approaching the city. See Feener, “Yemeni Sources for the History of Islam in Indonesia,” pp. 131-2. According to ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ Abū Ghuddah, the family of al-Ahdal in the City of Zabīd, Yemen, is a house of ancient knowledge inherited from it merits and in particular the science of the *Qur’ān*, *Ḥadīth*, *Fiqh* and *Fatwā* that it became renowned, and during his first visit to Zabīd in 1398/1977, one of his Yemeni teachers said “If you need to ask any question on *fiqh*, you should knock at the door of the house of al-Ahdal and you will get the answer.” The City of Zabīd



is described as the 'Azhar of Yemen' and the meeting place for 'ulamā' and students from faraway lands. See Abū Ghuddah, *Imdād al-Fattāh*, p. 467.

<sup>25</sup> See al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, p. 138.

<sup>26</sup> In all his works, al-Fādānī recorded 'Abd ar-Raḥmān as the father of al-Falimbānī. See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 12, 13, 15, 16, passim; idem, *Ithāf al-Bararah*, p. 12; idem, *al-Wāfī*, pp. 5, 7, 9, 12, 13, 17, passim; idem, *al-Arba'ūn al-Buldāniyyah; Arba'ūn Ḥadūthan 'an Arba'īn Shaykhan min Arba'īn Baladan* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Beirut, Dār al-Bashā'ir al-Islāmiyyah, 1407/1987), p. 66. Cf. al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 43; vol. 3, pp. 6, 7, 20, 21, 25, 36, 50, 54, 62, 66, 80, passim; at-Tarmasī (d. 1338/1920), Muḥammad Maḥfūz b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Mannān al-Jāwī, *Kifāyat al-Mustafīd li-mā 'Alā Lada 't-Tarmasī min 'l-Asānīd*, annotated by Muḥammad Yāsīn b. Muḥammad 'Īsā al-Fādānī al-Makkī (5<sup>th</sup> edition, Beirut, Dār al-Bashā'ir al-Islāmiyyah, 1408/1987), p. 6.

<sup>27</sup> See Quds (d. 1334/1915), 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Muḥammad 'Alī al-Jāwī al-Makkī, *al-Futūḥāt al-Qudsiyyah fī Sharḥ at-Tawassulāt as-Sammāniyyah al-Musammāt Jāliyat al-Kurab wa-Munīlat al-Arab* (Cairo, al-Maṭba'at al-Ḥamīdiyyat al-Miṣriyyah, 1323/1905), pp. 5-6; al-Ḥabshī, *'Iqd al-Yawāqūt al-Jawhariyyah*, vol. 1, p. 91. al-Ḥabshī's *'Iqd al-Yawāqūt* is said to be the largest *thabat* ever printed, in addition to his two other works on *thabat* titled *'Uqūd al-La'āl fī Asānīd ar-Rijāl*, a much smaller work than the *'Iqd al-Yawāqūt*; and the other work said to be only available in its manuscript copy entitled *Minḥat al-Fattāh al-Fāṭir bi-Dhikri Asānīd as-Sādat al-Akābir*. I have located a printed edition of this work held at the King Fahd National Library, Jeddah, but unfortunately was unable to consult it. See al-Ḥabshī, 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Yamanī, *Maṣādir al-Fikr al-Islāmī fī 'l-Yaman* (Abu Dhabi, al-Mujamma' ath-Thaqāfī, 1425/2004), pp. 81-2; Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 8, p. 17; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, pp. 591, 866-8; al-Mālikī, Muḥammad b. 'Alawī al-Ḥasanī, *al-'Uqūd al-Lu'lu'iah bi-'l-Asānīd al-'Alawiyyah*, pp. 70-1.

<sup>28</sup> See Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism*, p. 113.

<sup>29</sup> See al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, p. 138.

<sup>30</sup> See Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism*, p. 113. Cf. Abdullah, Wan Mohd. Shaghir, *Syeikh Muhammad Arsyad Al Banjari: Pengarang Sabital Muhtadin* (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Kuala Lumpur, Khazanah Fathaniyah, 1990), pp. 116-22.

- <sup>31</sup> See Quzwain, *Mengenal Allah*, pp. 5, 7, 30; idem, “Syeikh ‘Abd al-Shamad al-Palimbani,” pp. 184-2.
- <sup>32</sup> The coronation of this ruler took place immediately upon his arrival in Kedah in 1122/1710. According to Milles, there is a coin of this ruler dated 1154/1741; see Milles, ‘Recherches sur les Monnaies des Indigenes de l’Archipel Indien et de la Peninsula Malaise’ (1871), p. 133, quoted from Winstedt, R.O., “History of Kedah,” *JSBRAS*, 81 (1920), p. 34.
- <sup>33</sup> Azra mistakenly assumed that ‘Abd al-Jalīl was appointed as *Qāḍī* instead of *muftī*. However, according to the *Tawārīkh*, ‘Abd al-Jalīl was appointed as the *muftī* of Kedah upon his arrival in 1122/1710 until he died in 1196/1782. Cf. Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism*, p. 113; Muhammad, *Tawārīkh Silsilah*, pp. 129-34; Abdullah, *Syeikh Abdus Shamad*, p. 9.
- <sup>34</sup> Interestingly, I was informed by my colleague that even up to the present day, the current *muftī* of Zabīd, Shaykh al-‘Izz comes from the al-Ahdal family. Without doubt, this shows the continuous important role played by the al-Ahdal family in the Islamic religious teaching and learning especially in Zabīd.
- <sup>35</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-‘Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 17; idem, *al-Wāfī*, p. 48; at-Tarmasī, *Kifāyat al-Mustafīd*, p. 6 footnote.
- <sup>36</sup> See al-Ḥabshī, ‘Abd Allāh, *Maṣādir al-Fikr al-Islāmī*, p. 65.
- <sup>37</sup> See Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Later Part of 19<sup>th</sup> Century*, pp. 186-7, 254.
- <sup>38</sup> See for instance ‘Abd al-Jabbār (d. 1391/1971), ‘Umar, *Siyar wa-Tarājim Ba‘ḍ ‘Ulamā’inā fī ‘l-Qarn ar-Rābi‘ ‘Ashar li ‘l-Hijrah* (3<sup>rd</sup> edition, Jeddah, Tihāmah, 1403/1982), p. 288; al-Mu‘allimī, *A‘lām al-Makkiyyīn*, vol. 1, pp. 305, 320, 407; al-Ḥabshī, *Uqūd al-La’āl*, p. 159.
- <sup>39</sup> This age was taken into consideration base on historical sources that cited students from the archipelago travels to the Arabian Peninsula especially to *al-Ḥaramayn* at a very young age. Most of them initially come to perform the pilgrimage and eventually abide for their studies.
- <sup>40</sup> Chapters 3 and 5.
- <sup>41</sup> See Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism*, p. 114. Cf. Quzwain, “Syeikh ‘Abd al-Shamad al-Palimbani,” p. 182.
- <sup>42</sup> See al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, p. 138.
- <sup>43</sup> See al-Bayṭār, *Hilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 2, p. 851; Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu‘jam al-Mu’allifīn*, vol. 5, p. 235.
- <sup>44</sup> See at-Tarmasī, *Kifāyat al-Mustafīd*, p. 6 footnote. For a list of at-Tarmasī’s works, see Heer, *A Concise Handlist*, p. 42.

- <sup>45</sup> See for instance al- al-Fādānī, *al-‘Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 2, 10, 11, 16, 19, 25, 28, 29, 48, 49, 52, 59; idem, *al-Wāfī*, pp. 6, 7, 10, 13, 16, 17, 47, 50, 54, 60, passim; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 3, pp. 21, 62, 66.
- <sup>46</sup> See Abd. Rachman, “Nawawī al-Bantānī: An Intellectual Master of the Pesantren Tradition,” *Studia Islamika*, 3, 3 (1996), p. 86; ‘Abd al-Jabbār, *Siyar wa-Tarājim*, p. 288.
- <sup>47</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-‘Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 6, 8, 68, 101, 105, 119, 120, 124, 130, 148; idem, *al-Wāfī*, pp. 9, 12, 90, 113, 114, 123, 124, 131, 140, 142; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 3, p. 52.
- <sup>48</sup> See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, pp. 776-7; al-Ḥaḍrāwī, *Nuzhat al-Fikar*, vol. 2, p. 331; Zabārah, *Nayl al-Waṭar*, vol. 2, p. 267.
- <sup>49</sup> See Muhammad, *Tawārīkh Silsilah*, pp. 228-36.
- <sup>50</sup> See Vella, Walter F., *Siam Under Rama III 1824-1851* (Germany, J.J. Augustin Gluckstadt, 1957), pp. 60-72; Kennedy, J., *A History of Malaya* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, London, Macmillan; New York, St Martin’s Press, 1970), p. 116; Corfield, Justin (ed.), *Rama III and the Siamese Expedition to Kedah in 1839, The Dispatches of Luang Udomsombat*, trans. Cyril Skinner (Clayton, Monash University, 1993), pp. 8-20; Bonney, R., *Kedah 1771-1821 The Search for Security and Independence* (London, Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 161-7; Smith, Ronald Bishop, *Siam or the History of the Thais from 1569 A.D. to 1824 A.D.* (Maryland, Decatur Press Inc., 1967), p. 128; Wood, W.A.R., *A History of Siam From the Earliest Times to the Year AD. 1781, with a Supplement dealing with more recent events* (Bangkok, Chalermnit Bookshop, 1959), p. 276; Malek, Mohd Zamberi, *Umat Islam Patani Sejarah dan Politik* (Shah Alam, Hizbi, 1993), pp. 107-12; Terwiel, B. J., *A History of Modern Thailand 1767-1942* (St Lucia, University of Queensland Press, 1983), pp. 145-6; Syukri, Ibrahim, *History of the Malay Kingdom of Patani*, trans. C. Bailey and J. N. Miksic (Athens, Ohio University Center for International Studies, 1985), pp. 50-4; Teeuw, A. and Wyatt, D. K., *Hikayat Patani: The History of Patani* (The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1970), p. 23; Winstedt, R.O., “History of Kedah,” *JSBRAS*, 81 (1920), p. 35.
- <sup>51</sup> See Yusof, Wan Shamsudin Mohd., *Kedah Darulaman Dalam Sejarah Liku-Liku Perjuangan Menuju Kemerdekaan 1791-1957* (Alor Setar, Lembaga Muzium Negeri Kedah Darulaman, 1992), pp. 13-4. A copy of this letter can be found printed in this book. Cf. idem, *Periwayatan Sheikh Abdul Samad al-Falimbani dan Sumbangannya Dalam Peperangan Menentang Siam di Kedah*, paper presented in “Seminar Pemikiran Ulama:

Sheikh Abdus Samad al-Falembani” (Alor Setar, Kedah, 30 December 2002), pp. 8-9.

<sup>52</sup> See al-Falimbānī, ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad, *Rātib Shaykh ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī* (MSS National Library of Malaysia), MSS 2367, fols. 57, 59.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid*, fols. 84-86.

<sup>54</sup> See Vella, *Siam Under Rama III*, p. 72; Corfield (ed.), *Rama III and The Siamese Expedition*, p. 20.

<sup>55</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *al-‘Urwat al-Wuthqā*, MSS 2269, fol. 29; idem, *Rātib*, MSS 2367, fol. 57. A lithographed copy of MSS 2269 is printed in Abdullah, *Al-‘Urwatul Wutsqa*, pp. 166-248.

<sup>56</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Rātib*, MSS 2367, fol. 59; idem, *al-‘Urwat al-Wuthqā*, MSS 2269, fol. 29; Abdullah, *Al-‘Urwatul Wutsqa*, pp. 29, 228.

<sup>57</sup> Further discussion in Chapter 5.

<sup>58</sup> See Andaya, Barbara Watson, and Ishii, Yoneo, “Religious Developments in Southeast Asia, c. 1500-1800,” in Tarling, Nicholas (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia: From C. 1500 to C. 1800* (4 vols., Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999), vol. 2, p. 216.

<sup>59</sup> See al-Āshī, ‘Abd as-Salām b. Idrīs, *Muhimmāt an-Nafā’is fī Bayān As’ilat al-Ḥādīth* (Mecca, Maṭba‘at Fath al-Karīm al-Islāmiyyah, 1310/1892), p. 42.

<sup>60</sup> See al-Bayṭār, *Ḥilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 1, p. 241.

<sup>61</sup> See Abdullah, *Syeikh ‘Abdush Shamad al-Falimbani dan Angkatannya Dalam Tamadun Keilmuan Melayu* (Alor Setar, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka; Jabatan Hal Ehwal Agama Islam Kedah, 2002), pp. 4-5; idem, *Penyebaran Islam*, vol. 10, pp. 2-3; al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfī*, p. 122; idem, *al-‘Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 118; Mamdūh, *Tashnīf al-Asmā’*, p. 143.

<sup>62</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-‘Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 10, passim; idem, *al-Wāfī*, pp. 5, 7, 9, 12, 13, 17, 22, 23, 43, 44, 46, passim; idem, *al-Fayḍ ar-Raḥmānī*, p. 14; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 169; vol. 3, pp. 6, 7, 20, 21, 25, 36, passim.

<sup>63</sup> See Abdullah, *Penyebaran Islam*, vol. 9, pp. 43-9; idem, *Syeikh Abdus Shamad*, p. 30; idem, *Al-‘Urwatul Wutsqa*, pp. 1-2; idem, “Peranan Ulama’ Dalam Silat: Kepentingan dan Keselariannya Suatu Persamaan dari Aspek budaya dan Agama” paper presented at Seminar Ulama Berjiwa Panglima (International Islam University Malaysia, 21<sup>st</sup> December 2003), pp. 16-8.

<sup>64</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-‘Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 113; idem, *al-Wāfī*, pp. 5, 117.

<sup>65</sup> See Mamdūh, *Ilām al-Qāṣī*, p. 66; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 163.



- <sup>66</sup> See al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, pp. 163, 165; vol. 3, p. 7; Mamdūh, *I'lām al-Qāṣī*, p. 66; idem, *Tashnīf al-Asmā'*, p. 331; Abdullah, *Penyebaran Islam*, vol. 9, p. 49.
- <sup>67</sup> Further discussion on this *qaṣīdah* will follow shortly at the end of this chapter.
- <sup>68</sup> For further discussion on his early learning, see Abdullah, *Syeikh Abdus Shamad*, pp. 33-4; idem, *Syeikh Abdush Shamad Al-Falimbani*, p. 5.
- <sup>69</sup> See Abdullah, *Syeikh Daud bin Abdullah al-Faṭānī: Ulama Dan Pengarang Terulung Asia Tenggara* (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Shah Alam, Penerbitan Hizbi, 1990), p. 32.
- <sup>70</sup> See Madmarn, Hasan, *The Pondok and Madrasah in Patani* (Bangi, Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 2002), especially p. 12.
- <sup>71</sup> See al-Banjārī, Ṣiddīq, *Risālat Shajarah al-Arshadiyah*, pp. 6-7; Abdullah, *Syeikh Abdus Shamad*, p. 173.
- <sup>72</sup> See al-Banjārī, Ṣiddīq, *Risālat Shajarah al-Arshadiyah*, pp. 7-9; Abdullah, *Syeikh Abdus Shamad*, p. 173.
- <sup>73</sup> See al-Batāwī, *Taḥrīr Aqwā al-Adillah*, p. 1; al-Banjārī, Ṣiddīq, *Risālat Shajarah al-Arshadiyah*, p. 7.
- <sup>74</sup> See Muhammad, *Tawārīkh Silsilah*, p. 207.
- <sup>75</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 15, 30, 38, passim; idem, *al-Wāfī*, pp. 46, 61-2, 67, passim.
- <sup>76</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 15, 30, 38, 44, 54, 57, 64, 71, 72, 78, 82, 83, 107, 111; idem, *al-Wāfī*, pp. 46, 61-2, 67, 77, 80, 84, 88, 95, 97, passim.
- <sup>77</sup> The reason for this family to be known as 'al-Ahdal' was that contemporaries of their progenitor as-Sayyid 'Alī denominate him with the title 'al-Ahdal' due to numerous people receiving religious guidance from him that they describe him as 'alā 'l-ilāh dal' (the one who leads to the path of God). Due to difficulty in enunciation, this description was later extricated and become 'Ahdal,' hence known as Ahdalī or al-Ahdal. See al-Ahdalī, *al-Qawl al-A'dal*, p. 6.
- <sup>78</sup> For information on Sulaymān's *ijāzah* and list of teachers, see al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 30-6; as-Sindī, *Ḥaṣr ash-Shārid*, vol. 1, pp. 156, 157, 173, 335; al-Fādānī, *Itḥāf al-Mustafīd*, p. 32; idem, *Asānīd al-Faqīh*, p. 51; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, pp. 1128-9.
- <sup>79</sup> See al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 3, p. 53.
- <sup>80</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 8, 123; idem, *al-Wāfī*, p. 12; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 170; vol. 3, p. 50.
- <sup>81</sup> See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 94, 121, 149, 200, 532, 535; vol. 2, pp. 903, 985, 1128.

- <sup>82</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Zahrāt al-Murīd*, p. 5.
- <sup>83</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 4, p. 261; al-Fādānī, *al-‘Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 17, 18, 52, 109, 128, 137, 143, 146, 148; idem, *al-Wāfī*, pp. 44, 50, 70, 117-8, 119, 130, 133, 134, 137, 139, 140; idem, *Iṭḥāf al-Bararah*, p. 12; idem, *Iṭḥāf al-Ikhwān*, pp. 97-102; idem, *Iṭḥāf al-Ṭālib as-Sirrī*, pp. 81-5; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 170. See also below, Chapter 3.
- <sup>84</sup> On the evidence of al-Falimbānī’s travels to Egypt and Damascus, see Chapter 3.
- <sup>85</sup> See al-Banjārī, Ṣiddīq, *Risālat Shajarah al-Arshadiyah*, pp. 6-7; Abdullah, *Syeikh Abdus Shamad*, p. 173.
- <sup>86</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Hidāyat as-Sālikīn*, p. 2.
- <sup>87</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 1, p. 224.
- <sup>88</sup> See al-Banjārī, Ṣiddīq, *Risālat Shajarah al-Arshadiyah*, p. 5; Abdullah, *Syeikh Muhammad Arsyad Al Banjari*, p. 14; Steenbrink, Karel A., “Shaykh Mohammad Arsyad al-Banjari 1710-1812, Tokoh Fiqih dan Tasawuf,” in his *Beberapa Aspek Tentang Islam di Indonesia Abad ke-19* (Jakarta, Bulan Bintang, 1984), p. 92.
- <sup>89</sup> See al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 59.
- <sup>90</sup> See al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, p. 140; Appendix 1.
- <sup>91</sup> See Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Later Part of 19<sup>th</sup> Century*, p. 41.
- <sup>92</sup> See Chapter 3.
- <sup>93</sup> See al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 138-9; Appendix 1.
- <sup>94</sup> *Ibid*, p. 139.
- <sup>95</sup> *Ibid*, p. 140.
- <sup>96</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *al-‘Urwat al-Wuthqā*, MSS 2865, fol. 13; idem, *Zād al-Muttaqīn*, MS 1004, fol. 2.
- <sup>97</sup> The word *ar-Rabū’* is the Yemeni form of pronouncing of *al-Arbi‘ā’* (Wednesday) to this day. This perhaps indicates the influence of Yemeni Arabic on al-Falimbānī. See al-Falimbānī, ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Jāwī, *Kayfiyyat Khatm Yawm ar-Rabū’ fī Waqt al-‘Aṣr* (MSS National Library of Malaysia), MS 2269(C), fols. 64-65; Abdullah, *Al-‘Urwatul Wutsqa*, pp. 150-2.
- <sup>98</sup> The text has ‘*yuhibbu ‘alā*,’ which is clearly a scribe’s error.
- <sup>99</sup> The text wrongly has ‘*muqtarinun*.’
- <sup>100</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 4, p. 267. It is customary for scholars of this period to list their scholarly and *Ṣūfī* affiliations.
- <sup>101</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfī*, pp. 5, 77.

## Chapter 3

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### Al-Falimbānī's Formation of a Scholarship

#### Introduction

Examining ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī’s list of teachers and students enables us to extract further information regarding his intellectual life and scholarly activities. However, as already indicated in the first chapter, only a few of al-Falimbānī’s teachers are known to contemporary scholarship, the most famous among these teachers are Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān, Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Mun‘im ad-Damanhūrī, and Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī. On the other hand, from al-Falimbānī’s own writings and his *isnāds*, I have been able to trace the names of numerous other teachers and students of his, mostly unknown to contemporary studies. Therefore, to adequately study this aspect, I have divided this part of this study into two chapters. Chapter Three (this one) contains a thorough analytical survey of all his known teachers in the Arabian Peninsula and based on previously unknown evidence and surveys his teachers in Egypt and Damascus, and Chapter Four offers a critical survey of his known students, on the basis of my research.

It is also important to point out that by examining al-Falimbānī’s extensive teacher-student links in the scholarly networks, not only we can learn his connection with the ‘*ulamā*’ of his period, but we can also assess his key position in this network, the important role he played in transmitting Islamic religious sciences, and thus, his important contribution to Islamic scholarship and learning in both the Arab and Malay worlds. Furthermore, from his teacher-student links and *isnāds*, we are also able to classify and analyse the range and extent of various Islamic religious disciplines he studied with each teacher such as *fiqh*,

*ḥadīth*, *tafsīr*, *taṣawwuf*, etc, the intellectual ideas transmitted to him, and the influence of each individual teacher on him.

The methodology applied in these two chapters is to trace his teachers and students from his own writings and *isnāds*, and to supplement this by looking up each individual teacher and student through the enormous range of biographical dictionaries, a crucial category of sources consulted for this study. I hope that this part of the book as well as the final chapter on al-Falimbānī's writings will provide us with a better understanding of his scholarly life, his significant role in the scholarly networks and his contribution to Islamic scholarship and will assist further in the reconstruction of a more comprehensive and accurate intellectual biography of him.

## Al-Falimbānī's Learning Centres in the Arabian Peninsula

As noted above, only a few of 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad's teachers have been identified in contemporary studies so far. However, a comprehensive survey of all available sources, including his own writings, biographical accounts written on him, as well as his *isnāds*, reveal more than thirty scholars found to have teacher-student connections with al-Falimbānī, most of whom were unknown to previous studies. Nevertheless, this research does not claim to have covered all of al-Falimbānī's teachers, as these names are based on my findings in the currently known and available sources for this study.

There is no doubt that examining the biographies of both 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī's teachers and students provides us with crucial information and has helped us to resolve a number of issues surrounding his life such as his dates of birth and death, his family, his travels and his scholarly life.

Among his most famous teachers, two are already known to contemporary scholars. These are Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān, whom he considered his spiritual guide, and Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Mun'im ad-Damānhūrī, whose lectures he attended and noted down in *Zahrat al-Murīd*. Apart from these two teachers, we can extract from his



own works that he also studied with other leading scholars of his time. These include, in Mecca: ‘Aṭā’ Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Miṣrī al-Makkī, ‘Abd al-Ghanī b. Muḥammad Hilāl al-Makkī; in Medina: ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-‘Umarī al-Maghribī, Ṣiddīq b. ‘Umar Khān al-Madanī, ‘Abd al-Ghanī b. Abī Bakr b. ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Qāsim better known as ‘al-‘Ālim aṣ-Ṣūfī al-Hindī al-Madanī, and Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī al-Madanī; and in aṭ-Ṭā’if: ‘Abd Allāh Mīrghanī. Moreover, his own Yemeni disciple, ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal, in addition to the above-mentioned ‘Aṭā’ [Allāh] al-Miṣrī and Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī also lists other teachers of al-Falimbānī. They include Ibrāhīm ar-Ra’īs, Muḥammad Mirdād and Muḥammad al-Jawharī.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, both al-Qannūjī and al-Bayṭār, in addition to the list provided by al-Ahdal, also record another scholar with whom al-Falimbānī studied, namely Muḥammad Murād.<sup>2</sup> However, it is not clear where he met these last six listed teachers.

Above all, al-Fādānī’s numerous *isnād* writings enable us to further trace al-Falimbānī’s teachers. The rest of the scholars with whom al-Falimbānī also studied include ‘*ulamā*’ of Yemen such as Yaḥyā al-Ahdal, Aḥmad Sharīf Maqbūl al-Ahdal, Amr Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Khāliq al-Mizjājī, Aḥmad b. Sulaymān al-Hajjām, and Mushayyakh b. Zayn Bā ‘Ubūd. In fact, all five of them are from Zabīd. His Meccan teachers include Sālīm al-Baṣrī and ‘Umar b. Aḥmad as-Saqqāf al-‘Alawī, in addition to the above-mentioned teachers extracted from his own writings. Adding further to the above list of Arab teachers, al-Falimbānī also studied with *Jāwī* ‘*ulamā*’ such as ‘Āqīb b. Ḥasan ad-Dīn al-Falimbānī, Muḥammad Zayn b. Faqīh Jalāl ad-Dīn al-Ashī, and ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd al-Mubīn al-Faṭānī, as made evident from some of al-Fādānī’s writings.

As already indicated, we know that ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī spent at least thirty-five years studying in Arabia. Moreover, the fact that almost all of his known teachers and other learned associates figure prominently in Arabic biographical dictionaries and other Arabic writings indicates the indisputable prominence of al-Falimbānī’s intellectual background. In what follows, I discuss his teachers according to location in and outside the Arabian Peninsula.

## Zabīd, Yemen

As far as I can ascertain, the evidence shows that the first teacher of 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī in the Arab world was the Yemeni scholar, Yaḥyā al-Ahdal (1073-1147/1662-1734).<sup>3</sup> His full name is 'Imād ad-Dīn Yaḥya b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Qādir b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Bakr b. Maqbūl b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥya b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. as-Sayyid ash-Shaykh al-Kabīr Abī Bakr 'Ali (better known by the surname al-Ahdal) b. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. 'Ubayd b. 'Isā b. 'Ali b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamḥām b. 'Awn b. Musā al-Kāẓim b. Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq b. Muḥammad al-Bāqir b. 'Ali Zayn al-'Ābidīn b. al-Ḥusayn as-Sibṭ b. Amīr al-Mu'minīn 'Ali b. Abī Ṭālib. He is described further as al-Maqbūl al-Ahdal al-Ḥusaynī ash-Shāfi'ī az-Zabīdī al-Yamanī. He was evidently an important scholar in the distinguished al-Ahdal family.<sup>4</sup> His genealogy is traced back to Ḥusayn son of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib <sup>raḍiyallāhu 'anhumā</sup> and Fāṭimah, and the Prophet SAW. He was born in the village of ad-Durayhimī in the municipality of Wādī Rimāl, Yemen, where he grew up and memorised the Qur'ān at an early age. Later, he migrated to the city of Zabīd, where he memorised Abū al-Qāsim ash-Shāṭibī's (d. 590/1194) *matn* (text) of *ash-Shāṭibiyyah*, a versification of Abū 'Amr ad-Dānī's (d. 444/1052) compendium of the 'Seven Readings' of the Qur'ān (*al-qirā'at as-sab'ah*); and the *al-Alfiyyah* of Ibn Mālik (d. 672/1273), the one thousand verse didactic poem covering the entire rules of Arabic grammar.<sup>5</sup>

Better known as Yaḥyā b. 'Umar al-Ahdal, he was a *faqīh*, *mufasssīr* (Qur'ān exegete), *muḥaddith* of Yemen and the *mufī* of the Shāfi'ī School of Islamic jurisprudence in Zabīd. His grandson 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal described him as the 'sole leader of the time and as peerless' (*waḥīd 'aṣrihi wa-farīd miṣrihi*) especially in *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth* and *qirā'āt*. His student, Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad al-Khalīl az-Zabīdī (d. 1263/1846), who later became a prominent scholar in Zabīd, wrote a separate biographical account about him in his *al-Manhaj al-A'dal fī Sharḥ Mawlid al-Ahdal*.<sup>6</sup> According to him, Yaḥyā al-Ahdal was a leading scholar and an expert in virtually every aspect of the Islamic Sciences, who grasped the *mantūq* (external meaning) and *mafhūm* (implied meaning) of these sciences. However, though Yaḥyā al-Ahdal was an expert in various branches of

Islamic sciences, it was in *ḥadīth* and its sciences that he became most outstanding. He was thus called the *ḥāfiẓ al-‘aṣr* (the most reliable specialist of *ḥadīth* of the age) and *muḥaddith al-iqlīm* (the *muḥaddith* of Yemen). His memorization and deep knowledge of *ḥadīth* is something that no one could precisely describe. Apart from memorising nearly the whole of *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* and *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, he was generally well versed in the knowledge (*ma‘rifat*) of *ḥadīth*, both the narration (*riwāyah*) and understanding (*dirāyah*), the study of the transmitters of *ḥadīth* (*rijāl al-ḥadīth*), various lines of transmission (*isnāds*) and the categories and status of *ḥadīth*. He was regarded as the ‘leading authority of his period’ (*imām ahl zamānihi*) and was given precedence over his peers.<sup>7</sup>

Yaḥyā al-Ahdal’s Yemeni teachers include prominent scholars such as Abū Bakr b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Baṭṭāḥ al-Ahdal (d. 1099/1687), from whom he inherited his *ḥadīth* knowledge, grammar and jurisprudence and received the ‘superior *isnād*’ (*al-isnād al-‘ālī*), which, according to ash-Shawkānī, was the ‘highest *isnād*’ in the whole of Yemen. This is evident in his *thabat* entitled *Majmū‘ fī ‘l-Asānīd*, which ash-Shawkānī regards as a priceless work and anyone who came after him studying *ḥadīth* were indebted to him and considered his pupils.<sup>8</sup> His student, Qāḍī Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Qāṭin (d. 1199/1785), wrote a biographical account of al-Ahdal in his *Tuḥfat al-Ikhwān bi-Sanad Sayyid Walad ‘Adnān*, and eulogised him as the ‘seal of the *ḥadīth* scholars’ (*khātimat al-muḥaddithīn*) and the ‘leader of Those of Gnosis’ (*imām al-‘Arifīn*).<sup>9</sup>

In addition to Abū Bakr al-Baṭṭāḥ, al-Ahdal also studied *ḥadīth* with a group of *ḥuffāz* (reliable specialists of *ḥadīth*) such as the Qāḍī Ṣafī ad-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ishāq b. Muḥammad b. Ja‘mān az-Zabīdī (d. 1110/1698), with whom he studied *ḥadīth* books including *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* and *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, and *fiqh* books of ash-Shāfi‘ī *Madhhab* including *al-Minhāj*, *Fatḥ al-Wahhāb* and *al-Irshād*. With the excellent reciter of the Qur’ān, ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Bāqī al-Mizjājī az-Zabīdī, whom he calls ‘Shaykh *al-Qurrā*’, he studied *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, *al-Qirā‘at as-Sab‘ah*, as-Suyūṭī’s *al-Itqān fī ‘Ulūm al-Qur’ān*, among other works.

During his visit to Mecca to perform the *ḥajj* in 1106/1695, Yaḥyā al-Ahdal took the opportunity to study with the ‘ulamā’ of al-Ḥaramayn. They include among others, ‘Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī (1049-1134/1639-1722), Aḥmad an-Nakhlī (1040-1130/1630-1717), Ḥasan b. ‘Alī al-‘Ujaymī



(1049-1113/1639-1701), with whom he studied the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* in 1107/1695, and Aḥmad at-Tanīlī al-Maghribī al-Madanī. All of them eventually granted him their *ijāzah*.<sup>10</sup> It is worth noting that these *al-Ḥaramayn* scholars were students of leading scholars of the early seventeenth century, including the Egyptian *muḥaddith* Muḥammad b. 'Alā' ad-Dīn al-Bābilī al-Qāhirī (1000-77/1591-1666), the two prominent Maghribī scholars, 'Isā b. Muḥammad al-Ja'farī ath-Tha'ālībī al-Maghribī and later al-Makkī (1020-80/1611-69) and Muḥammad b. Sulaymān ar-Raddānī al-Maghribī (1037-94/1626-83), and the two renowned 'alim and *Ṣūfīs* of Medina, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Qushāshī (991-1071/1538-1661) and his disciple who later became his *khalīfah*, Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (1025-1101/1616-90).<sup>11</sup> Yaḥyā al-Ahdal's connections with these scholars are evident from his *isnāds*.<sup>12</sup> According to al-Fādānī, apart from *Majmū' fī 'l-Asānīd*, he also authored a *thabat* entitled *al-Badr al-Akmal fī Asānīd as-Sayyid Yaḥyā b. 'Umar Maqbūl al-Ahdal* where he listed his teachers and the works he studied with them along with his *isnāds* to these works.<sup>13</sup> He died in Zabīd on 14<sup>th</sup> Rabī' al-Ākhir 1147/13<sup>th</sup> September 1734 at the age of seventy-four.

Yaḥyā al-Ahdal had such high standing as a scholar and notable person that he was qualified to resolve differences. He mediated in the dispute on the permissibility of constructing buildings on Endowment lands belonging to the main mosque in Zabīd. He wrote his *al-Qawl as-Sadīd fī-mā Uḥditha min 'l-Imārah bi-Jāmi' Zabīd* on this question. As a distinguished scholar of *fiqh*, *tafsīr* and *ḥadīth*, and on the basis of his understanding of the juristic proofs (*dalīl*) from the Qur'ān and the Sunnah, he was able to make his own independent *ijtihād* (legal reasoning), to the extent that some of the followers of the Shāfi'ī *Madhhab* accused him of deviation from the Shāfi'ī School of Islamic jurisprudence. The *amīr* of Zabīd stood in awe of him because he proclaimed the truth with audacity and vehemence and was insistent upon enjoining virtue. He seemed to have chosen to live an ascetic life despite being endowed with wealth and possessions. He regularly reminded his disciples during his lectures of the Prophetic SAW saying: "be like a stranger in the world, or as a passerby on the road" (*kun fī 'd-dunya kaannaka gharīb aw 'ābir sabīl*), and he exhorted them to reject worldly pleasures and temptations.<sup>14</sup>



As he was the most prominent *muḥaddith* and *‘ālim* in Yemen of his time and possessed the *al-isnād al-‘ālī*, it is not surprising that he attracted students not only from Bilād ash-Shām (Greater Syria) and al-Ḥijāz but also from far and beyond to attend his *ḥalaqahs*. His local Yemeni students, especially from Zabīd, according to al-Qannūjī, constituted the great majority of distinguished figures or as he puts it ‘*sawād ‘uyūn al-bilād*.’<sup>15</sup> His best known disciples were, among others, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Maqbūl al-Ahdal (d. 1163/1749), Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Qāṭin aṣ-Ṣan‘ānī (1118-99/1706-85), ‘Abd Allāh b. Sulaymān al-Jarhazī (1138-1201/1725-86), Muḥammad b. ‘Alā’ ad-Dīn al-Mizjājī (1102-80/1690-1766), and Amr Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Khāliq al-Mizjājī (d. 1207/1793).

We already know that al-Falimbānī attended his teaching sessions but only had the opportunity to study with him the works of al-Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī (d. 852/1448), especially his collection of *ḥadīth* entitled *Bulūgh al-Marām min Adillat al-Aḥkām*, which deals with jurisprudence based on Qur’ān and *ḥadīth*.<sup>16</sup> This presumably indicates that he only arrived and met al-Ahdal in the last years of the latter’s life. Otherwise, al-Falimbānī would have taken the opportunity to study with him other Islamic disciplines, on which he was known to have been an expert. Furthermore, it is clear that after Yaḥyā al-Ahdal’s death, al-Falimbānī continued to study with his disciple and nephew, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Maqbūl al-Ahdal.

The next teacher of al-Falimbānī in Yemen was [Ṣafī ad-Dīn] Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Umar Sharīf Maqbūl ash-Shāfi‘ī al-Ahdal (1109-63/1697-1749). Born in the village of ad-Durayhimī, he later moved to Zabīd where he stayed and studied with his maternal uncle Yaḥyā al-Ahdal. Not only was he the maternal nephew of Yaḥyā al-Ahdal, but he was also one of his closest disciples. He regarded Yaḥyā al-Ahdal as one of his major teachers with whom he graduated and to whom he was affiliated, ‘*shaykh at-takhrīj wa ‘l-intisāb*.’<sup>17</sup>

Aḥmad al-Ahdal inherited his maternal uncle’s knowledge, especially in the Islamic sciences of *tafsīr* and *ḥadīth*, so that he was also known as a *muḥaddith*. Other than *tafsīr* and *ḥadīth*, he also mastered other Islamic disciplines including ‘*ilm al-qirā’āt as-sab‘ah*, *fiqh*, *uṣūl*, *naḥw*, *ṣarf*, *al-mantiq* (logic), *al-ma‘ānī* (the science of meanings),

*al-bayān* (the science of rhetoric), *al-badī'* (the science of eloquence), *al-ḥisāb* (arithmetic), *al-jabr* (algebra), *al-falak* (astronomy) and *al-handasah* (geometry).

In addition to studying with Yaḥyā, Aḥmad al-Ahdal also studied directly with the latter's teachers, including the earlier mentioned Abū Bakr b. 'Alī al-Baṭṭāḥ al-Ahdal and Aḥmad b. Ishāq b. Ja'mān. It is worth noting that the father of Aḥmad Ja'mān, Ishāq b. Muḥammad b. Ja'mān az-Zabīdī (1014-96/1605-85), also a *Qāḍī*, was included among 'Abd ar-Ra'ūf al-Jāwī as-Sinkīlī's teachers in Zabīd.<sup>18</sup> Thus, this clearly reflects that al-Falimbānī was continuing the scholarly traditions of his *Jāwī* predecessors in his strive to acquire Islamic religious knowledge from the very heart of the Islamic epicentre and learning.

Apart from studying in Zabīd, Aḥmad al-Ahdal also travelled frequently to *al-Ḥaramayn*, especially to Mecca where he met and studied directly with 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī in Dhū al-Qa'dah, 1122/December 1710, and Aḥmad an-Nakhilī in Rabī' al-Awwal, 1123/April 1711.<sup>19</sup> He once again travelled to Mecca in 1152/1739 where he met 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh Bā-Ḥusayn as-Saqqāf, from whom he received *al-ḥadīth al-musalsal bi-yawm al-īd* or 'the successive chain of the *ḥadīth* narrated on the festive day.'<sup>20</sup> While in Medina, Aḥmad al-Ahdal studied with Muḥammad Abū Ṭāhir al-Kūrānī (1081-1145/1670-1732), who in turn studied with his father Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, and Ḥasan al-'Ujaymī, both the aforementioned were seventeenth century renowned scholars in Medina and Mecca respectively.<sup>21</sup>

As a prominent scholar in Zabīd after his uncle Yaḥyā, obviously Aḥmad al-Ahdal had many students coming to study with him. Among them, apart from al-Falimbānī himself were the previously mentioned son of Yaḥyā, Sulaymān b. Yaḥyā al-Ahdal, Aḥmad and Qāsim, the sons of Sulaymān al-Hajjām, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Amīr (d. 1213/1798),<sup>22</sup> and Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. 'Alā' ad-Dīn al-Mizjājī (1140-1213/1727-98), who later became a teacher to two leading late eighteenth century scholars in Medina and Yemen, the Indian-born Medinese *muḥaddith* also known as 'Ḥāfīz of Ḥijāz,' Muḥammad 'Ābid as-Sindī al-Anṣārī al-Madanī (d. 1257/1841), and the famous Yemeni scholar, the *muḥaddith*, *faqīh* and reformer, *Qāḍī* Muḥammad b. 'Alī ash-Shawkānī (d. 1250/1834).<sup>23</sup>

Apparently, al-Falimbānī spent a relatively considerable time studying with Aḥmad al-Ahdal. As one can see from al-Falimbānī's own *isnāds*, his studies with him were extensive. He studied numerous Islamic sciences and read a number of works with him, including, among others, an-Nawawī's (d. 676/1277) *al-Minhāj*, *al-Majmū' Sharḥ al-Muḥadhdhab*, and *al-Īdāh fī Manāsik al-Ḥajj*, al-Khaṭīb ash-Sharbīnī's (d. 977/1569) *Mughnī al-Muḥtāj Sharḥ al-Minhāj*, Muḥib ad-Dīn aṭ-Ṭabarī's (d. 684/1295) *al-Qirā li-Qāsidī Umm al-Qurā*, Jalāl ad-Dīn al-Maḥallī's (d. 864/1459) *Kanz ar-Rāghibīn Sharḥ al-Minhāj*, Bā-Faḍl's (d. 918/1512) *al-Muqaddimah al-Ḥaḍramiyyah* and its commentary by Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī (d. 974/1566), entitled *al-Minhāj al-Qawīm*, al-Āmidī's (631/1233) *al-Iḥkām fī Uṣūl al-Aḥkām*, and Ibn al-Ḥājib's (d. 646/1249) *Muntahā as-Sūl wa 'l-Amal* on *uṣūl al-fiqh* (Principles of Islamic sacred law); Abū Bakr al-Ahdal's (d. 1035/1625) *al-Farā'id al-Bahiyyah* on *qawā'id al-fiqh* (Maxims of Jurisprudence). All these works are on *fiqh*. On *ḥadīth*, he studied an-Nawawī's *al-Arba'ūn* and *Riyāḍ as-Ṣāliḥīn*, and Zayn ad-Dīn al-'Irāqī's (d. 806/1403) *Alfiyyat al-Ḥadīth* on *'ulūm al-ḥadīth*; on *tafsīr*, he read al-Baghawī's (d. 516/1122) *Ma'ālim at-Tanzīl*; on theology, he read Burhān ad-Dīn an-Nasafī's (d. 537/1142) *al-'Aqā'id an-Nasafīyyah*; on grammar, he read the commentary or *sharḥ* of Ibn 'Aqīl (d. 769/1367) on the famous *al-Alfiyyah* of Ibn Mālik (d. 672/1273) and his *al-Musā'id 'alā Tashīl al-Fawā'id*, also a commentary on Ibn Mālik's *Tashīl al-Fawā'id wa-Takmīl al-Maqāṣid*, and three works by Ibn Hāshim (d. 761/1359): *Qaṭr an-Nadā*, *Shudhūr adh-Dhahab*, and *al-I'rāb 'an Qawā'id al-I'rāb*; all of these works are classics on *naḥw* and *ṣarf*.<sup>24</sup>

It is certain that Aḥmad al-Ahdal possessed a thorough knowledge of various branches of Islamic disciplines. Al-Qannūjī points out that he was one of the few scholars in his time blessed by God with a perspicacious mind so that he could solve any complicated problem in virtually any discipline with ease.<sup>25</sup> Likewise, since al-Falimbānī was one of his students, he too must have, to some extent, inherited at least some of his thorough knowledge as can be expected from the above-mentioned Islamic discipline and the lists of highly esteemed books he studied with him.



Among the Yemeni teachers of al-Falimbānī, we must include Amr Allāh [Khawājah] b. 'Abd al-Khāliq b. az-Zayn b. Muḥammad Bāqī b. aṣ-Ṣiddīq b. 'Abd al-Bāqī b. aṣ-Ṣiddīq b. az-Zayn b. Ismā'īl al-Mizjājī al-Ḥanafī az-Zabīdī al-Ash'arī,<sup>26</sup> who was the son of a leading Yemeni *muḥaddith*, 'Abd al-Khāliq al-Mizjājī who died in 1152/1739.<sup>27</sup>

Amr Allāh al-Mizjājī, like his father 'Abd al-Khāliq, was known mainly as a *muḥaddith*.<sup>28</sup> Though no available sources supply us with his year of birth, he was reported to have been a *mu'ammār* (long-lived). This is plausible as Amr Allāh al-Mizjājī received *ḥadīth* instruction directly from Ḥasan al-'Ujaymī who died in 1113/1701.<sup>29</sup> At the same time, later generations of scholars such as 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal, who was born in 1179/1765, also shared this same teacher with al-Falimbānī as he was reported to have received *al-ḥadīth al-musalsal bi 'l-awwaliyyah*,<sup>30</sup> highly from Amr Allāh al-Mizjājī.<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, a contemporary and a student of 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal, the already mentioned renowned *muḥaddith* of Medina in the late eighteenth century, Muḥammad 'Ābid as-Sindī al-Madanī (1190-1257/1776-1841) himself, also met and studied with Amr Allāh al-Mizjājī.<sup>32</sup> It is worth noting that Amr Allāh al-Mizjājī was one of the six teachers of 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal included in his *aṭ-ṭabaqāt al-ūlā*, covering his Zabīd teachers who studied with his grandfather, Yaḥyā al-Ahdal. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal further relates that in 1202/1787, he and his schoolfellow, Sa'd ad-Dīn b. Sa'īd al-Qarwānī, visited Amr Allāh al-Mizjājī and stayed with him for three days. During this time he read with him works on *ḥadīth* and *taṣawwuf* and received the transmission of *dhikr*, litany formula (*talqīn adh-dhikr*) for both the Qādiriyyah Order to be pronounced out loud (*jahran*) and that of the Naqshabandiyyah Order to be done silently (*sirran*). Amr Allāh al-Mizjājī in turn had received the *Ṣūfī* Order from Yaḥyā al-Ahdal who also dressed him in the *Ṣūfī* 'patched mantle' (*al-khirqat aṣ-ṣūfiyyah*).<sup>33</sup>

Among Amr Allāh's teachers were his own father 'Abd al-Khāliq b. az-Zayn al-Mizjājī, Yaḥyā al-Ahdal, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Sharīf Maqbūl al-Ahdal, and other Zabīd scholars of the latter's generations such as Sa'īd al-Kabūdī and 'Abd al-Khāliq b. Abī Bakr al-Mizjājī (1100-81/1688-1768). His *al-Ḥaramayn* teachers included, among others in Medina, the prominent Indian *muḥaddith*, Muḥammad Ḥayāt as-Sindī



(d. 1163/1749), who himself was a student of ‘Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī (d. 1134/1722) and Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Hādī as-Sindī, better known as Abū al-Ḥasan as-Sindī al-Kabīr (d. 1138/1726). Muḥammad Ḥayāt as-Sindī was also a teacher of the famous Islamic theologian and reformer, founder of the Wahhābī movement, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb (1115-1206/1703-92).<sup>34</sup> Muḥammad Ḥayāt eventually granted Amr Allāh al-Mizjājī an *ijāzah* and handed him his *thabat* entitled *al-Wijāzah fī ‘l-Ijāzah*. In Mecca Amr Allāh studied with, among others, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Sa‘īd better known as Ibn ‘Aqīlah (d. 1150/1737), a well-known *muḥaddith* who authored a famous work on *al-ḥadīth al-musalsal* (the traditions with a continuous chain of transmitters) entitled *al-Fawā’id al-Jalīlah fī Musalsalāt Ibn ‘Aqīlah*.<sup>35</sup> According to al-Fādānī, both Amr Allāh al-Mizjājī and his teacher, Aḥmad al-Ahdal also studied with a *Jāwī* scholar who resided in Medina, namely ‘Āqīb b. Ḥasan ad-Dīn al-Falimbānī. As we shall see shortly, this *Jāwī* scholar was also one of ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī’s own teachers in Medina.<sup>36</sup>

In addition to receiving *ḥadīth* from his father, Amr Allāh al-Mizjājī possessed *isnāds* through his father that connected him with such scholars as Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥaddād, ‘Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī, Ḥasan al-‘Ujaymī and Abū al-Ḥasan as-Sindī al-Kabīr. Therefore, he was among the most sought-after in the *isnāds* of the scholarly networks during this period. Al-Fādānī tells us that Amr Allāh al-Mizjājī provided a comprehensive list of his teachers and *isnāds* in his concise *thabat* entitled *al-Qawl al-Munjī fī Thabat al-Mizjājī*.<sup>37</sup>

According to ‘Aydarūs al-Ḥabshī, Amr Allāh al-Mizjājī died in 1207/1793 and his student, Muḥammad ‘Ābid as-Sindī relates that he was buried at at-Taḥiyyah, a well-known village outside Zabīd.<sup>38</sup>

The last among the list of al-Falimbānī’s known teachers in Yemen is Aḥmad b. Sulaymān [Abī al-Qāsim] b. Abī Bakr [‘Umar Abakr] b. Sulaymān b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. ‘Umar b. Abī al-Qāsim b. Abī Bakr b. Abī al-Qāsim b. ‘Umar b. ‘Alī b. ‘Umar al-Hajjām al-Ahdal al-Ḥusaynī al-Ahdalī az-Zabīdī.<sup>39</sup>

There is no information on his dates of birth and death, but what we can derive from his life account is that he was a scholar from Zabīd and was reported to have been alive in 1212/1797. According to his student, Muḥammad ‘Ābid as-Sindī in his *isnād* on receiving ‘the tradition with

continuous chain for the *Ṣūfī* mantle' (*al-musalsal bi-ilbās al-khirqah aṣ-ṣūfīyyah*), Aḥmad al-Hajjām clothed him with his 'white turban' (*'imāmah bayḍā'*) in 1212/1797 at al-Quṭay', a village in Yemen. Aḥmad al-Hajjām in turn had received it from his father Sulaymān al-Hajjām, who had received it from Yaḥyā al-Ahdal, who in turn had received it from the hand of his own teacher, the Meccan *Ṣūfī* and 'ālim Shaykh Ḥasan al-'Ujaymī. It should be noted in passing that Ḥasan al-'Ujaymī's *isnāds* demonstrate that he had extensive scholarly connections with earlier generations of prominent scholars and renowned *Ṣūfīs* who included among others, Aḥmad al-Qushāshī, Aḥmad ash-Shinnāwī, 'Abd al-Wahhāb ash-Sha'rānī, Jalāl ad-Dīn as-Suyūṭī, leading back to Ibn al-'Arabī, 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, and as far as the earliest *Ṣūfīs* al-Junayd al-Baghdādī, as-Sarī as-Saqāṭī, and Ma'rūf al-Karkhī.<sup>40</sup>

Aḥmad al-Hajjām had studied, among others, with his own father Sulaymān, Aḥmad al-Ahdal, Aḥmad b. Idrīs b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī al-Idrīsī, 'Abd al-Khāliq b. Abī Bakr al-Mizjājī, Muḥammad b. 'Alā' ad-Dīn al-Mizjājī (d. 1180/1766) and Aḥmad b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ashbūlī al-Miṣrī (d. 1173/1759).<sup>41</sup> His teachers in turn studied with earlier generations of scholars such as 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī, Aḥmad an-Nakhli, and Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī.

His father, Sulaymān al-Hajjām, better known as 'Ṣāhib al-Quṭay'' (master or owner of al-Quṭay'), was also included by Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī among his numerous teachers in Zabīd, with whom he studied sections of an-Nawawī's *Riyāḍ aṣ-Ṣāliḥīn* and *at-Tibyān [fī Ādāb Ḥamalat al-Qur'ān]* upon his arrival in al-Quṭay', Yemen in 1166/1752 when he attended his lectures and heard Aḥmad al-Hajjām read these works for the class in the presence of his father. As a sign of initiation into the *Ṣūfī* order, Sulaymān al-Hajjām dressed Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī with his *ṭāqīyah* (cap or headdress), instructed him in the *talqīm adh-dhikr* for the Qādiriyyah order, and later gave him his general *ijāzah*.<sup>42</sup>

Obviously, Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī was a contemporary to Aḥmad al-Hajjām as he further relates that both of them travelled from Zabīd to Bayt al-Faqīh in 1164/1750 where they studied with Sayyid Mashhūr [b. Mustarīḥ] al-Ahdal and received from him *al-ḥadīth al-musalsal bi 'l-awwāliyyah*.<sup>43</sup> In addition, upon his father's instruction, Aḥmad al-Hajjām read Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Mas'ūd's *Kitāb Marāḥi [al-Arwāḥ]*, a

work on Arabic morphology with Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī together with other works that az-Zabīdī authored. As we shall see later, Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī was also one of al-Falimbānī's teachers.

Among the works that al-Falimbānī read and studied with Aḥmad al-Hajjām were al-Bukhārī's (d. 256/870) *al-Jāmi' aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ*, and Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh's (d. 709/1309) *al-Ḥikam* (or the Aphorisms) and *at-Tanwīr fī Isqāṭ at-Tadbīr*, both renowned works on Ṣūfism.<sup>44</sup>

Thus, it is obvious that al-Falimbānī had intensive contacts with Yemeni scholars, in particular, those from Zabīd and through them he further had extensive scholarly links not only to earlier generations of 'ulamā' of Yemen, but also of *al-Ḥaramayn* and Egypt.

## Mecca

It appears that after studying in Yemen, 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī continued his journey to study in *al-Ḥaramayn*. His known teachers in Mecca include many eminent scholars of the holy city at the time. Among them was [Abū al-Makārim] Sālim b. 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī ash-Shāfi'ī al-Makkī (d. 1160/1747), who was the son of the renowned Meccan *muḥaddith* 'Abd Allāh b. Sālim b. Muḥammad b. 'Īsā al-Baṣrī al-Makkī (1049-1134/1639-1722), originally from Baṣrah, Iraq.<sup>45</sup> Though his biographer gives no information on his date of birth, Sālim was born in Mecca and most likely in the late seventeenth century.

Sālim al-Baṣrī, like his father, 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī, was known mainly as a traditionist *muḥaddith*. He studied mostly with his father and inherited his knowledge. Thus al-Ḥaḍrāwī remarks that 'God cast the *barakah* on his son' [Sālim], and likewise he was an authority in *ḥadīth* that he was known as a *muḥaddith* and *faqīh*.<sup>46</sup> It is important to note Mirdād's view that 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī was one of the three Meccan scholars who possessed '*uluw al-isnād* (superior *isnād*) which later generations of scholars from al-Ḥijāz, Yemen, Egypt and Syria generally include them in their *isnāds*,<sup>47</sup> and was also known as one of the 'seven *ḥadīth* experts of al-Ḥijāz' (*masānīd al-Ḥijāz as-sab'ah*).<sup>48</sup>

Undoubtedly, 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī had established the reputation of the al-Baṣrī family in scholarly circles in *al-Ḥaramayn*. Thus, through his father, Sālim al-Baṣrī was connected with such scholars as Shams



ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Alā' ad-Dīn al-Bābilī (d. 1077/1666), Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Bashbīshī (d. 1096/1684), 'Īsā b. Muḥammad ath-Tha'ālibī al-Maghribī (d. 1080/1669), 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad az-Zamzamī (d. 1072/1661), Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (d. 1101/1690), Zayn al-'Ābidīn (d. 1078/1667) and 'Alī (d. 1070/1659), both sons of 'Abd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad at-Ṭabarī (d. 1033/1624), and the *Qāḍī* Tāj ad-Dīn b. Aḥmad better-known as Ibn Ya'qūb (d. 1066/1656).<sup>49</sup> It is worth noting that most of these scholars were also teachers of al-Falimbānī's *Jāwī* predecessors such as 'Abd ar-Ra'ūf as-Sinkīlī (1024-1105/1615-1693) and Muḥammad Yūsuf al-Maqassārī (1037-1111/1627-99), or at least had scholarly contacts with them.

Among Sālīm al-Baṣrī's disciples apart from al-Falimbānī were the renowned *muḥaddith* of Medina, Muḥammad Ḥayāt as-Sindī, who also studied directly with 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī;<sup>50</sup> Muḥammad b. Ṣādiq as-Sindī or Abū al-Ḥasan as-Sindī aṣ-Ṣaghīr (1125-87/1713-73), who was also a student of Ḥayāt as-Sindī. Moreover, the Islamic reformer who has been called 'the greatest intellectual Muslim India produced,' Shāh Walī Allāh Aḥmad b. 'Abd ar-Raḥīm ad-Dihlawī (1114-76/1703-62), had also met and studied with Sālīm al-Baṣrī during his visit to al-Ḥijāz from 1143/1730 to 1145/1732.<sup>51</sup> Shāh Walī Allāh in his hope to restore the '*ulamā*'s former power and influence had urged Muslim rulers to a *jihād* against the Maratha and Jat Bharatpur enemies of Islam.<sup>52</sup>

Sālīm al-Baṣrī died in Mecca and Mirdād quotes ash-Shaykh al-Qaṭṭān, who related in his *Tanzīl ar-Raḥmāt* that his death occurred on 2 Muḥarram 1160/14 January 1747, and that he was buried at the al-Ma'lā burial ground in the Holy City. He was survived by his four sons: Ḥasan, 'Abd ar-Raḥmān, Abū al-Faṭḥ and 'Abd al-Qādir; however, none of them, according to Mirdād, were learned ('*ālim*) or seekers of knowledge.<sup>53</sup> Therefore, from his year of death, we can deduce that al-Falimbānī, being his student, must have studied in Mecca with him before 1160/1747.

Al-Kattānī states that among Sālīm al-Baṣrī's works was a *thabat* entitled *al-Imdād Bi-Ma'rifat 'Uluw 'l-Isnād*, an abridged version of his father's *thabat* carrying the same caption, completed in 1126/1714.<sup>54</sup> Among the works that al-Falimbānī studied and read with him were the *Sunan* of Ibn Mājah (d. 273/886), one of the major Six canonical *ḥadīth* books, and al-Jārabardī's (d. 746/1345) commentary on *ash-Shāfiyah*, a



work on Arabic morphology by the outstanding master grammarian Ibn al-Ḥāḥib (d. 646/1248).<sup>55</sup>

The next teacher of al-Falimbānī in Mecca, Sayyid [Abū Ḥafṣ] ‘Umar b. Aḥmad b. ‘Aqīl b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān Āli Bā ‘Alawī b. ‘Aqīl b. Abī Bakr as-Sakrān al-Ḥusaynī al-‘Alawī al-Makkī ash-Shāfi‘ī, better-known as as-Saqqāf (d. 1174/1760), was undoubtedly an important scholar in Mecca.<sup>56</sup>

‘Umar as-Saqqāf was the grandson of Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. ‘Aqīl as-Saqqāf (d. 1074/1663), a student of the aforementioned famous Egyptian *muḥaddith* Muḥammad b. ‘Alā’ ad-Dīn al-Bābilī. He was also the maternal grandson (*sibt*) of the above-mentioned eminent Meccan *muḥaddith* ‘Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī, who as we have already mentioned, was also a student of al-Bābilī.<sup>57</sup>

Born in Mecca in 1102/1690, ‘Umar as-Saqqāf studied with numerous scholars of *al-Ḥaramayn* and became an expert in various branches of Islamic knowledge, but was mainly known as a great *muḥaddith*. His student Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, eulogised him as ‘*al-imām al-muḥaddith al-musnid shaykh al-ḥadīth* in Ḥijāz, and the star of the religion (*najm ad-dīn*).’<sup>58</sup>

In addition to studying with ‘Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī, ‘Umar as-Saqqāf gained a great deal of benefit from eminent scholars in *al-Ḥaramayn*, such as Aḥmad an-Nakhlī, Ḥasan al-‘Ujaymī, Tāj ad-Dīn b. ‘Abd al-Muḥsin al-Qal‘ī (d. 1149/1736) who was the *Qāḍī* and *mufī* of Mecca, ‘Abd al-Qādir b. Abī Bakr aṣ-Ṣiddīqī (d. 1138/1725), Ibn ‘Aqīlah, Idrīs b. Aḥmad al-Yamānī, ‘Abd al-Waḥhāb b. Aḥmad aṭ-Ṭanṭāwī (d. 1154/1741), and Muṣṭafā b. Faṭḥ Allāh al-Ḥamawī (d. 1124/1712) originally from Ḥamāh in Syria.<sup>59</sup> The latter, according to al-Kattānī was perhaps the master of the highest *isnād* among all of them.<sup>60</sup> Under the guidance of his maternal grandfather al-Baṣrī, in 1110/1698 at the age of eight, ‘Umar as-Saqqāf received the *al-ḥadīth al-musalsal bi ‘l-awwaliyyah*, highly, from the Egyptian scholar Shihāb ad-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Ghanī ad-Dimyāṭī (d. 1117/1705 in Medina), better known as Ibn ‘Abd al-Ghanī or al-Bannā’. In turn, Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī later received this *ḥadīth* from ‘Umar as-Saqqāf when he met him in Medina in 1163/1749. One year later, in 1164/1750, he adhered to him and devoted himself (*lāzama*) to studying with him in Mecca.<sup>61</sup>

Among 'Umar as-Saqqāf's students, other than al-Falimbānī and the aforementioned Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, were prominent scholars such as Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Jawharī (1096-1182/1684-1768), who, as we shall see later, was also among al-Falimbānī's own Egyptian teachers, Ḥasan b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Jabartī (1110-88/1698-1774), the father of the famous Egyptian historian 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Jabartī, author of *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, and Shāh Walī Allāh ad-Dihlawī, who relates in his *al-Faḍl al-Mubīn fī 'l-Musalsal min Ḥadīth an-Nabī al-Amīn* that he received *al-ḥadīth al-musalsal bi 'l-awwaliyyah* from 'Umar as-Saqqāf.<sup>62</sup> It is important to note that Shāh Walī Allāh was also a disciple of Muḥammad Abū Ṭāhir al-Kūrānī (1081-1145/1670-1733), whom he met in Medina in 1112/1700 and regarded as one of his preferred teachers with whom he studied numerous *ḥadīth* books and received *isnāds* for each.<sup>63</sup> Abū Ṭāhir al-Kūrānī in turn studied with the 'five *musnids* of al-Ḥijāz' (*musnidī al-Ḥijāz al-khamsah*) of that generations: his own father, Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan al-Kūrānī, 'Abd Allāh b. Sālīm al-Baṣrī, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad an-Nakhlī, Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-'Ujaymī, and Muḥammad b. Sulaymān ar-Rūdānī.<sup>64</sup>

As for al-Falimbānī, it is through his study with 'Umar as-Saqqāf that he is connected directly to, and received the authority from him to transmit works from the prominent seventeenth century 'ulamā' of Mecca. These include 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī's *al-Imdād bi-Ma'rifat 'Uluw al-Isnād*, Aḥmad an-Nakhlī's *Bughyat at-Ṭālibīn li-Bayān al-Mashāyikh al-Muḥaqqiqīn al-Mu'tamidīn*, and the *thabat* of Ḥasan al-'Ujaymī compiled by his student Ṭāj ad-Dīn b. Aḥmad ad-Dahhān al-Ḥanafī al-Makkī (d. after 1160/1747) (also a teacher of 'Umar as-Saqqāf) entitled *Kifāyat al-Mutaṭalli' li-mā Ḥahara wa-Khafia min Ghālib Marwiyyāt al-Musnid ash-Shaykh Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-'Ujaymī al-Ḥanafī*.<sup>65</sup> Other works that al-Falimbānī studied and read with him include Ibn Mājah's *Sunan*, and the well known biographies of Hanbalites or *Ṭabaqāt al-Hanābilah* by Abū Ya'la Ibn al-Farrā' al-Baghdādī (d. 458/1065).<sup>66</sup>

Another important teacher of al-Falimbānī in Mecca was 'Atā' Allāh b. Aḥmad b. 'Aṭā' Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Azharī al-Miṣrī al-Makkī ash-Shāfi'ī, an Egyptian scholar who settled and died in Mecca.<sup>67</sup> None of his biographers gives us his date of birth, but he was born in Egypt and studied at al-Azhar with such scholars, among others, 'Alī ad-Darīr

al-Ḥanafī, Muṣṭafā b. Aḥmad al-‘Azīzī, ‘Ayd (or ‘Īd) b. ‘Alī an-Numrusī (d. 1140/1727), Aḥmad al-Khalīfī, ‘Abd al-Wahhāb aṭ-Ṭanṭāwī and Muḥammad ash-Shinnāwī. It appears that sometime after completing his education in Egypt he migrated to *al-Ḥaramayn* or, in Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī’s terms, he resided there (*nazīl al-Ḥaramayn*) and was very active in teaching in both Mecca and Medina. Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī also includes ‘Aṭā’ Allāh as one of his own numerous teachers and relates that he finally took up residence in Mecca (*tadayyara Makkah*) where he died in 1187/1773 at the age of ninety.<sup>68</sup> Thus, ‘Aṭā’ Allāh must have been born around 1097/1685.

The date of ‘Aṭā’ Allāh’s migration to Mecca is also unknown to his biographers. However, from al-Falimbānī’s account in his *Zahr al-Murīd*, we can deduce that he must have migrated to Mecca prior to 1178/1765, the year al-Falimbānī completed his work. This is evident from ‘Aṭā’ Allāh’s *nisbah* as al-Falimbānī tells us that among his teachers in Mecca, was Shaykh ‘Aṭā’ Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Miṣrī al-Azharī and thenceforth (*thumma*) al-Makkī. Hence, he had already migrated to Mecca when al-Falimbānī studied with him.<sup>69</sup> In his *Zahr al-Murīd*, al-Falimbānī also frequently cites ‘Aṭā’ Allāh’s work entitled *al-‘Iqd al-Farīd fī Taḥqīq Kalimat at-Tawḥīd* (The Unique Necklace on Verification of the Expression of Monotheism), obviously one of his numerous works that he read with him. It is also evident that al-Falimbānī venerates him highly as he calls him “*shaykhunā al-‘ālim al-‘allāmah al-muḥaqqiq al-mudaqqiq*” [our deeply learned, meticulous and exacting master].<sup>70</sup> According to al-Falimbānī, in his *al-‘Iqd al-Farīd*, ‘Aṭā’ Allāh elaborates extensively the two levels of the doctrine of monotheism in Islam: *tawḥīd al-khawāṣṣ* (monotheism of the elite) and *tawḥīd khawāṣṣ al-khawāṣṣ* (monotheism of the elite of the elite).<sup>71</sup> This clearly implies excluding the general public from getting involved in the discussion of this doctrine.

His students, other than Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī and al-Falimbānī, also included Abū al-Ḥasan as-Sindī aṣ-Ṣaghīr (d. 1187/1773), Ṣāliḥ b. Muḥammad al-Fullānī (1166-1218/1752-1803), the West African *muhaddith* who settled in Medina, and Sulaymān b. Yaḥyā al-Ahdal (d. 1197/1783).

‘Aṭā’ Allāh was a prolific author, and a scholar of certain intellectual importance in the scholarly circles. According to Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī,



he is said to have written no less than fifty works most of them dealing with *al-ma'qūl* (rational sciences). His works include: *Manṭiq al-Ḥādīr wa 'l-Bādī wa-Maqṣad ar-Rāyih wa 'l-Ghādī*, *Maṭla' al-Burhān min Ṭawālī' al-Mizān*; both works on logic, *al-Qawl al-Mu'tabar fī 'Ilm al-Athar*, *Risālah fī Ādāb al-Baḥth* and *Tuḥfat Ahl al-'Aṣr bi 'l-Maqūlāt al-'Ashr*, *al-Uṣūl al-Muḥimmah min Mawārith al-Ummah*, a copy of which written in his own handwriting dated 1186/1772, which was known to az-Zabīdī; *Nihāyat al-Ījāz fī 'l-Ḥaqīqat wa 'l-Majāz*, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Sharḥ Lāmiyat al-'Arab*,<sup>72</sup> *Tuḥfat al-Khullān bi-Sharḥ Naṣīḥat al-Ikhwān*, completed in 1170/1756; and *Nafḥat al-Jūd fī Waḥdat al-Wujūd*.<sup>73</sup> It is important to note that al-Falimbānī was one of the *Jāwī 'ulamā'*, as we shall see later, who eventually became an expert on the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd* (Oneness of Being) that he wrote a treatise on this topic entitled *Zād al-Muttaqīm*.

Another Meccan scholar whom al-Falimbānī mentioned in his *Zahrat al-Murīd* and *Sayr as-Sālikīn* as his teacher was 'Abd al-Ghanī Hilāl al-Makkī.<sup>74</sup> He is [Zayn ad-Dīn] 'Abd al-Ghanī Hilāl b. Muḥammad Hilāl b. Muḥammad Sunbul ash-Shāfi'ī (d. 1212/1798), a *faqīh* and *muftī* of the Shāfi'ī School of Islamic jurisprudence in the Holy City.<sup>75</sup>

Though no sources provide us with his year of birth, 'Abd al-Ghanī Hilāl was born in Mecca and studied with its *'ulamā'* and eventually became a renowned scholar there, especially as a *faqīh*. The most significant among his teachers were his own father, Muḥammad Hilāl (d. 1159/1746), who was a student of 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī, his uncle, Muḥammad Sa'īd Sunbul (d. 1175/1761), the renowned author of *al-Awā'il as-Sunbuliyyah*, who was also the Shāfi'ī *muftī* of Mecca, and 'Umar al-Saqqāf (d. 1174/1760), the above mentioned maternal grandson of al-Baṣrī and teacher of al-Falimbānī.<sup>76</sup> 'Abd al-Ghanī Hilāl was appointed as the Shāfi'ī *muftī* in Mecca and students flocked to study with him. His students included prominent scholars of the following generation such as the Damascene *muḥaddith*, 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Kuzbarī, better known as al-Kuzbarī aṣ-Ṣaghīr or al-Kuzbarī al-Ḥafīd (1184-1262/1770-1846), his own cousin, the Meccan *muḥaddith*, Muḥammad Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad Sa'īd Sunbul (d. 1218/1803), and Yāsīn b. 'Abd Allāh Mīrghanī (d. 1255/1839), the son of 'Abd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm



Mirghanī al-Maḥjūb, a renowned *Ṣūfī* in at-Ṭā'if. The latter, as we shall see shortly, was also among al-Falimbānī's teachers.

According to al-Falimbānī, his teacher 'Abd al-Ghanī Hilāl was among the '*ulamā*' of Mecca who attended the lectures of the visiting Egyptian Shaykh Aḥmad ad-Damanhūrī during the *Hajj* in 1178/1765. Thus, al-Falimbānī must have studied with him prior to this time as he was already described as 'our master and teacher, the learned, and the praiseworthy' (*mawlānā wa-shaykhunā al-ālim al-fāḍil*).<sup>77</sup> Though we do not have any information on the subjects that al-Falimbānī studied with him or the works that he read with him, without doubt he must have taken the opportunity to study at least ash-Shāfi'ī's *fiqh* works with him since he was a *faqīh* and *mufī* of the Shāfi'ī School of Islamic jurisprudence in Mecca during that time. 'Abd al-Ghanī's *fiqh* influence on 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī is strongly reflected in his works. For instance, on the question of silver *niṣāb* (*zakāt*) based on weight, al-Falimbānī chose 'Abd al-Ghanī's legal opinion over different scholarly rulings on the same issue.<sup>78</sup>

'Abd al-Ghanī Hilāl died in Mecca. Mirdād points out that according to the handwriting of Muḥammad b. Ḥamīdah al-Makkī, he died on 21 Sha'bān 1212/8 February 1798 and was interred at al-Ma'lā. This, according to Mirdād was in accordance with his own finding in *Thabat al-Kuzbarī*.<sup>79</sup>

One of the interesting teachers of al-Falimbānī in Mecca was the visiting Egyptian Shaykh Aḥmad ad-Damanhūrī. [Shihāb ad-Dīn Abū al-'Abbās] Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Mun'im b. Yūsuf b. Ṣiām ash-Shāfi'ī al-Mālikī al-Ḥanafī al-Ḥanbalī ad-Damanhūrī al-Madhāhibī al-Azharī (1101-92/1690-1778), better known as Aḥmad ad-Damanhūrī, was also evidently one of the most prominent figures in the scholarly circles during the eighteenth century. He was also known as *al-Madhāhibī* for his knowledge and authority in giving *fatwā* in all four Sunni legal schools of Islamic jurisprudence.<sup>80</sup>

Aḥmad ad-Damanhūrī was born in 1101/1690 in Damanhūr, Egypt. His student, Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī relates that he came as a young orphan without support to study at al-Azhar. With diligence, he devoted himself to learning, and expanded his studies and accomplishments. The '*ulamā*' of the four schools of law granted him authorisation (*ijāzah*) to teach in

all four schools. He had an excellent memory and great knowledge and wrote on various branches of knowledge. He gave *fatwās* in accordance with the four schools but he did not put his scholarship and writings to good benefit because of his reluctance to impart them to his students, or to others. Sometimes he would impart useful points to some strangers. Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī regularly attended his lectures at the Ḥusaynī Shrine (*al-Mashhad al-Ḥusaynī*) in Cairo, but he would admix them with anecdotes and tales of his experiences, to pass the time. After the death of Muḥammad b. Sālim al-Ḥifnī (also known as al-Ḥifnāwī) in 1181/1767, also a teacher of Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, Aḥmad ad-Damanhūrī was appointed the rector of al-Azhar. The commanding officials (*umarā'*) stood in awe of him because he zealously proclaimed the truth, insistent upon enjoining virtue and was generous with his possessions. Kings flocked to him from various regions and brought him sumptuous gifts. Other Egyptian officials, representing the government revered him. Although famous and held in high esteem, he was shy of public sessions and gatherings.<sup>81</sup>

Ad-Damanhūrī performed the *Ḥajj* with the official Egyptian contingent in 1177/1763. The Sharīf and '*ulamā*' of Mecca came to visit him. He returned to Egypt and Shaykh 'Abd Allāh al-Adkāwī (d. 1184/1770) extolled him in a poem to congratulate him on this occasion. Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī relates that he visited him on Shawwāl 1179/March 1766, in his dwelling in Būlāq, where he kept company with him. He received the *ijāzah* from Aḥmad ad-Damanhūrī who handed him his *thabat* entitled *al-Laṭā'if an-Nūriyyah fī 'l-Minaḥ ad-Damanhūriyyah*.<sup>82</sup> According to Khawqīr, he is also said to have compiled another *thabat* entitled *al-Kawākib az-Zāhirah fī Āthār Ahl 'l-Ākhirah*, which has not been recovered.<sup>83</sup>

At the end of his life, ad-Damanhūrī became very ill and was confined to his home. He passed away on Sunday, 10 Rajab 1192/4 August 1778. Funeral rites were held at al-Azhar Mosque with an overflow of mourners. His genealogy was read (he was believed to have been the progeny of Abū Muḥammad al-Baṭṭal al-Ghāzī, a famous Arab Muslim warrior of the third/ninth century) and he was interred in the cemetery of al-Bustān.<sup>84</sup>

In the *al-Laṭā'if an-Nūriyyah*, Aḥmad ad-Damanhūrī devotes long passages to providing the list of teachers with whom he studied, the titles

of books he studied, along with the *isnāds* for each of them and the *ijāzahs* that he received from his teachers. He states that he studied the *fiqh* books of the four *madhhabs* in the following order: ash-Shāfi‘iyyah, followed by al-Ḥanafīyyah, then al-Mālikiyyah and finally al-Ḥanābilah. His teachers include Shāfi‘ī scholars such as ‘Abd Rabbih b. Aḥmad ad-Dīrī, whom he describes as the ‘the most knowledgeable in Shāfi‘ī *fiqh*’, ‘Abd ad-Dā‘im al-Ajhūrī, and ‘Abd ar-Ra‘ūf al-Bashbīshī. Sayyid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad as-Salamūnī al-Mālikī, the Shaykh of Malikiyyah who granted him *ijāzah* dated 16<sup>th</sup> Ramaḍān 1139/6<sup>th</sup> May 1727. The *Faqīh* Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz az-Zayādī al-Ḥanafī granted him *ijāzah* in Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1140/July 1728, and Aḥmad b. ‘Awaḍ al-Mirdāwī al-Maqdisī al-Ḥanbalī granted him *ijāzah* on 3<sup>rd</sup> Rabī‘ al-Ākhir 1140/18<sup>th</sup> November 1727.<sup>85</sup>

Though ad-Damanhūrī was an Egyptian scholar, it is clear from al-Falimbānī’s *Zahrāt al-Murīd* that he studied with him during the above stated visit to Mecca for the pilgrimage.<sup>86</sup> However, it is not impossible that al-Falimbānī also studied with him during his own journey and study in Egypt. In addition, al-Falimbānī points out that several Egyptian scholars also attended ad-Damanhūrī’s lectures in Mecca. They included Aḥmad b. Aḥmad as-Siblāwī, better known as Razzah (or Ruzzah) (d. 1180/1766),<sup>87</sup> and Muḥammad al-Fāris ash-Shāfi‘ī al-Miṣrī.<sup>88</sup> It is not improbable that al-Falimbānī took the opportunity to study with or at least consult them during their stay in Mecca, especially since we know he recognised them as having knowledge and eulogized both as ‘*al-‘ālim al-fāḍil*.’

It is evident that Aḥmad ad-Damanhūrī was known as a prolific author on numerous subjects including *fiqh* or, in az-Ziriklī terms, he was one of the Egyptian scholars who were “*al-mukthirīn min ‘t-taṣānīf fī ‘l-fiqh wa-ghayrih*.”<sup>89</sup> Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī provides thirty-five titles, adding that he also wrote numerous small epistles which were not included in his list,<sup>90</sup> while Brockelmann lists twenty-nine of his works.<sup>91</sup> Most of his works deal with *fiqh*, *ḥadīth*, *tawḥīd*, *manṭiq*, *bayān*, *tafsīr*, *mawā‘iz* (sermons), *kalām* and *taṣawwuf*. They include *Kitāb Subul ar-Rashād ilā Nafa‘ al-‘Ibād* completed in 1162/1748, *Īḍāḥ al-Mushkilāt min Matn al-Isti‘ārāt*, on metaphor, *Irshād al-Māhir ilā Kanz al-Jawāhir*, on the ‘science of letters and names’ (*‘ilm al-ḥurūf wa ‘l-asmā’*), *Īḍāḥ*



*al-Mubham min Ma'ānī as-Sullam* on logic, a *fiqh* work on the Ḥanafī School of Islamic jurisprudence entitled *Ṭarīq al-Ihtidā' bi-Aḥkām al-Imāmah wa 'l-Iqtidā'*, and *Ḥilyat al-Lubb al-Maṣūn 'alā 'l-Jawhar al-Maknūn*, on rhetoric.<sup>92</sup> Other works which were not listed by his biographers include his *Taḥṣīl al-Marām bi 'd-Duā' 'alā 'd-Dawām*, and *al-Qawl al-Mufīd li-Ma'ānī Durrat at-Tawḥīd*,<sup>93</sup> and a work on issues pertaining to the demolition of churches in Cairo.<sup>94</sup> Al-Falimbānī mentioned some of the above listed works in his *Zahrat al-Murīd*, which without doubt indicates that he had read them directly with Aḥmad ad-Damanhūrī.<sup>95</sup>

An important Meccan teacher of al-Falimbānī was [Abū al-Fawz] Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Laṭīf b. 'Abd as-Salām ar-Ra'īs az-Zubayrī az-Zamzamī al-Makkī (d. 1195/1781).<sup>96</sup> According to the biographical notice on his son Muḥammad Ṣālīḥ (1187-1240/1773-1824), his lineage links him to az-Zubayr, a prominent companion of the Prophet SAW.<sup>97</sup> Ibrāhīm ar-Ra'īs az-Zamzamī was born in Mecca in 1110/1698 and evidently was a prominent scholar from the Zamzamī family.<sup>98</sup>

Ibrāhīm az-Zamzamī's teachers included Ibn 'Aqīlah, Sayyid 'Umar as-Saqqāf, Sālīm al-Baṣrī, 'Aṭā' Allāh al-Miṣrī, Muḥammad b. aṭ-Ṭayyib al-Maghribī (1110-70/1698-1756), Aḥmad b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ashbūlī, with whom he and Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī attended lessons on as-Suyūṭī's *al-Jāmi' as-Ṣaḡhīr*, 'Abd Allāh Mīrghanī and 'Abd al-Waḥhāb aṭ-Ṭanṭāwī al-Aḥmadī. He also studied with visiting scholars to Mecca such as the Egyptians 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Āmir ash-Shubrāwī (1094-1171/1682-1757), 'Umar ad-Da'ūjī, and Aḥmad al-Jawharī (1096-1182/1684-1768). Most of these scholars were also among al-Falimbānī's teachers as we can see elsewhere in this chapter.

Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī describes Ibrāhīm az-Zamzamī as the eloquent (*al-faṣīḥ*, *al-mufawwah*), *Imām* and the *mua'qqit al-Ḥaram* (the scholar of astronomy charged with establishing the exact prayer times) adding that he was well versed in various religious sciences. He was initiated into the Naqshabandiyyah Order through his master 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-'Aydārūs who wrote an epistle in his name entitled *Risālat al-Bayān wa 't-Ta'lim li-Muttabi' Millat Ibrāhīm*, granting him his *ijāzah* and providing his *isnād* in the colophon. He was also initiated into the Khalwatiyyah Order<sup>99</sup> by Shaykh Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī who eventually appointed him as his *khalīfah*



for the opening of *dhikir* gatherings and the recitation of his midnight litany (*Wird as-Saḥar*).<sup>100</sup> Under the guidance of the father of the Egyptian historian, ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Jabartī, Ḥasan al-Jabartī (1110-88/1698-1774) during his sojourn in Mecca (1155/1742), Ibrāhīm az-Zamzamī was able to master ‘*ilm al-falak*’ (astronomy).<sup>101</sup> In 1176/1762, after the death of ‘Abd al-Wahhāb aṭ-Ṭabarī, Ibrāhīm az-Zamzamī was appointed the new *muftī* of the Shāfi‘ī School of Islamic jurisprudence in Mecca.<sup>102</sup> His son, Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ (d. 1240/1824) who was also one of Dāwūd al-Faṭānī’s teachers, a younger contemporary of al-Falimbānī, also became the *muftī* of Mecca later.

We have seen that Ibrāhīm az-Zamzamī was a contemporary and a close friend of the famous Egyptian scholar, Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī. Their close relationship is evident from the fact that they exchanged *ijāzahs* and corresponded regularly, and upon his request, Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī sent him his exposition of al-Ghazālī’s *al-Iḥyā’* entitled *Iḥāf as-Sādat al-Muttaqīn* from Egypt in 1194/1780.<sup>103</sup> Ibrāhīm az-Zamzamī died in Mecca on 17 Rabī‘ al-Awwal 1195/13 March 1781 and was interred at al-Ma‘lā.<sup>104</sup>

The last scholar in the list of al-Falimbānī’s teachers in Mecca mentioned by ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal was al-‘Allāmah Muḥammad Mirdād.<sup>105</sup> My research on Muḥammad Mirdād in several biographical dictionaries of the period under study points to Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ b. Muḥammad Mirdād al-Ḥanafī al-Makkī (d. 1205/1790).<sup>106</sup> He was born in Mecca where he grew up and studied with *al-Ḥaramayn* scholars. He studied the art of recitation (*qirā’at*) with Shaykh ‘Umar b. ‘Alī (who was blind but whose heart was enlightened ‘*al-baṣīr bi-qalbih*’) al-Ḥanafī al-Makkī and studied *ḥadīth* with al-‘Allāmah al-Muḥaddith Abū al-Ḥasan as-Sindī aṣ-Ṣagīr al-Madanī al-Ḥanafī; with *ash-Shaykh al-Muḥaddith* Muḥammad al-Muṣayliḥī aḍ-Ḍarīr al-Miṣrī, and al-‘Allāmah ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Ḥusayn al-Fattanī al-Makkī al-Ḥanafī. All of these granted Mirdād their *ijāzah*. Muḥammad Mirdād was later appointed as the *Imām* (prayer leader) and *Khaṭīb* (orator) of the Sacred Mosque of Mecca. Since he was an *Imām* who mastered the art of recitation, we can expect that most probably among the subjects that al-Falimbānī studied with him was the Qur’ān and its recitations. According to al-Bakrī, ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal also later met and studied with Muḥammad Mirdād.<sup>107</sup>

Muḥammad Mirdād apparently built the reputation of the Mirdāds as a noted scholarly family in Mecca. It is important to highlight that most of the members of the Mirdād family occupied the post of '*shaykh al-khuṭabā*' wa '*l-a'imma*' of the Sacred Mosque in the eighteenth and nineteenth century.<sup>108</sup> Among the most prominent members of the Mirdād family in later periods we find 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad Abū al-Khayr Mirdād (1285-1343/1868-1924), who was a *Qāḍī*, historian, and biographer of Mecca.<sup>109</sup>

In addition to 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī's Arab teachers, according to Shaghīr Abdullah, he also studied with a *Jāwī* scholar, Muḥammad Zayn b. Faqīh Jalāl ad-Dīn b. Shaykh Kamāl ad-Dīn b. al-Qaḍī Baginda Khaṭīb at-Tarūn Pasir al-Jāwī al-Ashī (from Aceh), who resided in Mecca.<sup>110</sup> Abdullah rightly believes that al-Falimbānī met and studied with him in Mecca.<sup>111</sup>

Taking into consideration the dates and places in which Muḥammad Zayn al-Ashī completed his known works, it is highly plausible that al-Falimbānī studied with him. All of his currently known works were written in Mecca; these include his *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah*, a translation of as-Sanūsī's *Umm al-Barāhīn* completed on the 24 of Sha'bān 1170/19 January 1756,<sup>112</sup> *Kashf al-Kirām fī Bayān an-Niyyat 'inda Takbīrat al-Iḥrām*, completed on 8 Muḥarram 1171/22 September 1757,<sup>113</sup> and *Talkhīṣ al-Falāḥ fī Bayān Aḥkām at-Talāq wa 'n-Nikāḥ*, completed on 7 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1175/29 June 1762, or perhaps even earlier as a manuscript copy seems to indicate an earlier date.<sup>114</sup> As we can see, all of these works were written before al-Falimbānī began writing his first work in 1178/1765; therefore, Muḥammad Zayn al-Ashī was most probably one of his early Meccan teachers who happened to be an established *Jāwī* scholar in the Holy City.

It is important to note that in the *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah*, al-Ashī points out that some ignorant people in the Archipelago, who claimed themselves as learned scholars, had accused the *Ṣūfīs* of heresy and permitted their books to be used as toilet paper. He also warned against the common practice of those ignorant people who only studied for two or three years but had accused undisputed *Ṣūfī* masters such as the two renowned Medinese *walīs*, Aḥmad al-Qushāshī and Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī and his own *Jāwī* predecessor, 'Abd ar-Ra'ūf as-Sinkīlī, of being

unbelievers. However, al-Ashī strongly advised his students against reading the complicated works of his three *Jāwī* predecessors, namely, Hamzah al-Fanṣūrī, Shams ad-Dīn as-Sumaṭrānī, and Sayf ar-Rijāl, as he believed there were no proficient *Jāwī* scholars during his time capable of comprehending their teachings. This, he said, also applies to Arabic works on Ṣūfism written by earlier *Ṣūfīs* such as Ibn al-‘Arabī’s *al-Futūḥāt* [*al-Makkiyyah*] and Muḥammad al-Ghauth’s *al-Jawāhir al-Khams*. He further explains that because of the inability of *Jāwī* scholars to understand the correct *Ṣūfī* teachings, an author such as Sayyid ‘Alawī Ba-Faqīh, in his work entitled *an-Nūr al-Mubīn*, had declared those who advocated the teachings of these three *Jāwī* scholars to be unbelievers.<sup>115</sup> It is important to point out that in contradiction to al-Ashī’s belief, ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī was one of the *Jāwī* ‘*ulamā*’ who advocated the teachings of great *Ṣūfīs* such as Ibn al-‘Arabī, ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Jīlī, and others, as well as his *Jāwī* predecessors such as Shams ad-Dīn as-Sumaṭrānī and ‘Abd ar-Ra’ūf as-Sinkīlī. This, as we shall see later, was because he felt competent enough and had the ability to teach such difficult subjects and explain them to capable adepts.

Among al-Ashī’s teachers whom he listed in his work was Shaykh Muḥammad Sa‘īd al-Makkī.<sup>116</sup> He is most likely to be Muḥammad Sa‘īd b. Muḥammad Sunbul al-Maḥallātī al-Makkī ash-Shāfi‘ī (d. 1175/1761 in aṭ-Ṭā’if), a Shāfi‘ī *faqīh* and *muḥaddith* who assumed the office of the *muftī* and teacher at Mecca (*tawallā al-iftā wa ‘t-tadrīs bi ‘l-Masjid al-Ḥarām*).<sup>117</sup>

## Aṭ-Ṭā’if

The only known teacher of al-Falimbānī in aṭ-Ṭā’if whom he mentioned three times in his *Sayr as-Sālikīn* was ‘Abd Allāh Mīrghanī aṭ-Ṭā’ifī.<sup>118</sup> According to Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, his teacher, *al-Imām al-‘Arif al-Qutb* [‘Afīf ad-Dīn, Abū as-Sa‘ādah] ‘Abd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan b. Muḥammad Amīn b. ‘Alī Mīrghanī al-Ḥusaynī an-Nasafī al-Ḥanafī al-Makkī aṭ-Ṭā’ifī, also known as al-Maḥjūb (d. 1207/1792), was a renowned Ḥanafī *Ṣūfī* who was born and grew up in Mecca, and later moved with his family to aṭ-Ṭā’if in 1166/1752. He traced his genealogy back to Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī, grandson of the Prophet SAW.<sup>119</sup>



Among 'Abd Allāh Mīrghanī's teachers, were the two renowned *muḥaddiths* of Mecca, 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī and Aḥmad an-Nakhlī, and a renowned *Ṣūfī walī* of his time who was known as *Quṭb zamānih* (the pole of his time), namely Sayyid Yūsuf al-Mahdalī with whom he studied and was attached to him all his life.<sup>120</sup> After his teacher's death, Mīrghanī experienced a Divine rapture (*jadhbat al-Ḥaq*), such that, according to Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, he received direct intuition from his ancestor the Prophet SAW. Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī further relates that he first met and studied with Mīrghanī in Mecca in 1163/1749, and later in aṭ-Ṭā'if in 1166/1752.<sup>121</sup>

Mīrghanī's prominent students include the aforementioned *mufī* of Mecca, Ibrāhīm ar-Ra'īs az-Zamzamī, the West African *muḥaddith* who settled in Medina, Ṣāliḥ b. Muḥammad al-Fullānī, and the Yemeni Sulaymān b. Yaḥyā al-Ahdal.<sup>122</sup> The latter points out that when he sent him a written request for his *ijāzah* from Zabīd, 'Abd Allāh Mīrghanī wrote him a lengthy reply in a mystical style, dated 2 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1167/19 September 1754, which, according to Sulaymān, demonstrated his teacher's strong affiliation with *Ṣūfism*.<sup>123</sup>

Al-Falimbānī recorded some of 'Abd Allāh Mīrghanī's works that he read. Among them *Tanbīh al-Ḥaqq fī Ḥayyiz al-Farq wa-Faṭḥ al-Muta'ālī fī Waqt Ighfālī*, a commentary on 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥaddād's poetic composition entitled '*Ilzam bāb rabbik*,' which, according to al-Falimbānī is a work on *Ṣūfism* recommended for the *mubtadī* (novice) travellers on the mystical path.<sup>124</sup> Other works by 'Abd Allāh Mīrghanī which al-Falimbānī would have read include *Sawād al-'Ayn fī Sharaf an-Nabiyyīn*, completed in 1157/1744, *al-Mu'jam al-Wajīz fī Aḥādith an-Nabī al-'Azīz*, a work on *ḥadīth* written in 1166/1752, *ad-Durrat al-Yatimah fī Ba'd Faḍā'il as-Sayyidah al-'Azīmah*, written in 1164/1750, which perhaps refers to Fāṭimah the daughter of the Prophet SAW, *Mashāriq al-Anwār fī 's-Ṣalāt wa 's-Salām 'alā 'n-Nabī al-Mukhtār*, perhaps a collection of litanies in praise of the Prophet SAW, and two anthologies of Arabic poems, one arranged alphabetically entitled *al-'Iqd al-Munazzam 'alā Ḥurūf al-Mu'jam*, and the other is *'Iqd al-Jawāhir fī Naẓm al-Mafākhir*, respectively. Several other works that have not been listed by his biographers include unpublished manuscript copies of his *al-Anfās al-Qudsiyyah fī Ba'd Manāqib al-Ḥaḍrat al-'Abbāsiyyah*. As



the title would suggest, this is perhaps a work relating the merits of Ibn ‘Abbās, the Prophet’s SAW young companion and cousin who was buried in at-Ṭā’if; *Iḥāf as-Su‘adā’ bi-Manāqib Sayyid ash-Shuhadā’*, a work on the virtues of Hamzah b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the Prophet’s SAW uncle who is known in the Islamic tradition as the ‘Master of the Martyrs’ (*Sayyid ash-Shuhadā’*); and a work on Ṣūfism entitled *ar-Risālah al-Mirghaniyyah*.<sup>125</sup>

It is worth noting that both ‘Abd Allāh Mīrghanī’s sons, Yāsīn (d. 1251/1835) also known as al-Maḥjūb, and Abū Bakr were also renowned Ṣūfī scholars of Mecca.<sup>126</sup>

## Jeddah

In addition to ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī’s list of teachers as recorded by ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal, both al-Qannūjī and al-Bayṭār, also include a certain Muḥammad Murād as one of his teachers.<sup>127</sup> According to Azyumardi Azra, Muḥammad Murād of that period points to Muḥammad Khalīl al-Murādī.<sup>128</sup> However, my own research of several biographical dictionaries of the period and other Arabic sources, indicates a different scholar, namely Muḥammad Murād al-Anṣārī as-Sindī. His full name is Muḥammad Murād b. Ya‘qūb al-Ḥāfiẓ b. Maḥmūd al-Anṣārī al-Khazrajī as-Sindī (d. ca. 1201/1786). My investigation of several *isnāds* of al-Falimbānī further reveals that his teacher, Muḥammad Murād with whom he studied, was indeed this Muḥammad Murād al-Anṣārī as-Sindī.<sup>129</sup>

Although there is no specific text that mentions that al-Falimbānī met Murād as-Sindī in Jeddah, based on his domicile and the *madrasah* where he was teaching, as we shall see shortly, it is highly likely that he studied with him in Jeddah. In addition, Martin van Bruinessen points out that according to oral tradition related to him by Kiai Zen Syukri, a contemporary proponent of the Khalwatiyyah Sammāniyyah Order in Palembang, ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī stopped over in Jeddah on his way to Egypt, where he met and studied initially with Ṣiddīq al-Madanī who later introduced him to as-Sammān in Medina. Bruinessen points out that this narration is not available in any written sources.<sup>130</sup> However, if this is acceptable, it shows that al-Falimbānī did study in Jeddah and

hence it is highly probable that during his stay he studied there as well with Murād as-Sindī.

Although his year of birth is unknown, what we can gather from biographical notices is that Muḥammad Murād as-Sindī was born to an Indian family in the land of Sindh (now in modern Pakistan), where he grew up and later became its *Qāḍī* (judge). Although born in India, his genealogy traces his ancestors back to the Medinese Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī <sup>radīyallāhu</sup><sub>anhu</sub>, a companion of the Prophet SAW.<sup>131</sup> Indeed the Anṣārīs are widespread in several Arab, Asian and African urban centres and have produced many prominent scholars.

Muḥammad Murād was also the paternal grandfather of the renowned *muḥaddith* of Medina in the eighteenth century, Muḥammad 'Ābid b. Aḥmad 'Alī b. Muḥammad Murād b. Ya'qūb al-Ḥāfīz b. Maḥmūd al-Anṣārī as-Sindī (1190-1257/1776-1841), author of the famous *thabat* entitled *Ḥaṣr ash-Shārid*. Evidently, from his *isnāds* in the *Ḥaṣr ash-Shārid*, Muḥammad 'Ābid tells us that he studied various branches of Islamic religious disciplines with his uncle Muḥammad Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Murād, who in turn studied with his father Muḥammad Murād al-Anṣārī as-Sindī. Muḥammad 'Ābid also included his *silsilah* in a number of *Ṣūfī ṭarīqahs* in this work.<sup>132</sup>

Muḥammad Murād's teachers who can be traced from his *isnād* include Muḥammad Hāshim b. 'Abd al-Ghafūr b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ḥanafī at-Tatwī as-Sindī (d. 1174/1760), who, according to al-Ḥasanī, was an eminent Indian scholar of *fiqh*, *ḥadīth* and Arabic language.<sup>133</sup>

An anecdote related by 'Ābid as-Sindī tells us some of Muḥammad Murād's merits which also give us some idea of his Ṣūfism. He relates the following:

I was robed with *al-khirqah al-khidriyah* (al-Khiḍr's cloak) by my uncle Muḥammad Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Murād al-Anṣārī as-Sindī, who said that he was robed with *al-khirqah* by his father, *al-'ārif bi'llāh* (the Gnostic of God) Shaykh Muḥammad Murād b. Shaykh Ya'qūb al-Anṣārī as-Sindī. His father, Murād in turn said that al-Khiḍr had repeatedly clothed him with *al-khirqah*, and he told his son of his numerous encounters with al-Khiḍr. When he was about to die, he said to my uncle Muḥammad Ḥusayn, "My son, al-Khiḍr had just visited me and bid me farewell, and I have entrusted you to

him. He will meet you after the ‘*aṣr*’ prayer at *al-Jāmi‘ ash-Shāfi‘ī* in Jeddah, and as a sign you will come across a man whose ring and right-hand little fingers are joined together.” My uncle then said, “I went to the stated mosque to perform my ‘*aṣr*’ congregational prayer, and on my exit upon leaving the place, a man as perfectly described earlier approached me: he was dark and tall, and he told me that my father had entrusted me to him. I then kissed his hand sought his blessing.” Since then, my uncle used to tell me of his occasional encounters with al-Khiḍr.<sup>134</sup>

Apparently, Muḥammad Murād’s grandfather was also a learned scholar and *Ṣūfī*. According to al-Qannūjī, his grandfather, Maḥmūd was known as ‘*Shaykh al-Islām*’ while Muḥammad Murād himself was a *Qāḍī* in his hometown in India, and later at the end of his life Muḥammad migrated to the Ḥijāz. Upon the request of Rayḥān, a minister in Jeddah who built Muḥammad Murād a mosque, a *madrasah*, and a house, he migrated to Jeddah where he settled and spent the rest of his life. It is not clear when he migrated to Jeddah. However, al-Ḥasanī points out that he was said to have died in Jeddah in 1201/1786 just before the arrival of Rafī‘ ad-Dīn al-Murādābādī for the *Hajj*, thus he would have migrated some years before the turn of thirteenth century Hijri.<sup>135</sup>

Muḥammad Murād’s students, apart from his own son Muḥammad Ḥusayn as-Sindī and al-Falimbānī, also included another *Jāwī* student, Muḥammad ‘Āshiq ad-Dīn al-Falimbānī, the grandfather of Muḥammad Azharī al-Falimbānī (the latter was a nineteenth century scholar in Mecca and the author of *Badī‘ az-Zamān fī Bayān ‘Aqā’id ‘l-Īmān*). In addition to Muḥammad Murād, ‘Āshiq ad-Dīn also studied with the two prominent *Ṣūfīs* Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī and Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān.<sup>136</sup> The last two, as we will see shortly, were among the most influential teachers of ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī in Medina. This certainly indicates that ‘Āshiq ad-Dīn must have been a contemporary of ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad as they both studied with the same teachers who were also famous *Ṣūfī* masters.

Muḥammad Murād’s works included a book in four volumes, which according to al-Ḥasanī contained numerous sections on *fawā’id al-Qur’ān* (virtues of the Qur’ān), and on *ḥadīth* and *fiqh*.<sup>137</sup>

Though Muḥammad Murād took up residence in Jeddah, he is also reported to have travelled frequently to Mecca, especially to perform the *Ḥajj*, making it possible for al-Falimbānī to have met him there as well.<sup>138</sup> However, since Shaykh Murād had his own mosque in Jeddah and taught in his *madrasah*, it is highly likely that al-Falimbānī travelled to Jeddah to meet and study with him there.

## Medina

According to traditional sources, 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī was said to have studied for thirty years in Mecca and then another five years in Medina. Unfortunately, al-Falimbānī himself does not provide us with exact accounts and dates of his travels and scholarship. However, by carefully examining the contents of his writings and the dates and places he provided when completing them, I was able to work out the dates for his five years of scholarship in Medina. It was between 1181/1767 and 1186/1772.

As we shall see later on (in the discussion of his writings in Chapter Five), it is evident that al-Falimbānī never fails to mention his highly venerated Medinese *Ṣūfī* master, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān in his writings written from 1187/1773 onwards, but he does not mention him, not even once, in any of his first three earlier writings written before this date. This certainly indicates that he had not travelled to Medina and hence, had not met or studied with as-Sammān prior to 1181/1767.

Without doubt, as-Sammān was the most highly revered of al-Falimbānī's teachers. This is evident from the manner in which he designates him with numerous titles, such as '*al-quṭb ar-rabbānī wa l-'ārif aṣ-ṣamadānī*,' '*quṭb al-kawn, walī ar-raḥmān*,' '*quṭb az-zamān, walī al-'irfān*,' '*al-walī al-kāmil al-mukammal, khātam ahl al-'irfān*,' '*quṭb az-zamān, ghawth al-anām*,' '*ustādhunā al-a'zam wa-malādhunā al-afkham, quṭb al-akwān, ghawth az-zamān, al-'ārif bi-Allāh bilā nizā'* wa-walī [*sic*] bilā difā', and so on.<sup>139</sup>

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm b. Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Madanī ash-Shāfī'ī, better known as Muḥammad as-Sammān (1130-89/1717-75), was a renowned Medinese *Ṣūfī* who was born and died



in Medina.<sup>140</sup> He also travelled to Egypt in 1174/1760 where he was warmly received by his father's disciples. Apparently, he did not stay long in Egypt as his student, Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Qādir b. Bakrī al-'Ujaylī, met him in Medina in 1175/1761, receiving *al-ḥadīth al-musalsal bi 'l-awwalīyyah* from him.<sup>141</sup>

Muḥammad as-Sammān was initiated into several renowned *Ṣūfī ṭarīqahs* including, among others, al-Qādiriyyah, which he received from his own father 'Abd al-Karīm and Muḥammad Abū Ṭāhir al-Kūrānī respectively, an-Naqshabandiyyah, ash-Shādhiliyyah, al-'Ādiliyyah and al-Khalwatiyyah.<sup>142</sup> However, he was mostly known for his affiliation with the al-Qādiriyyah and al-Khalwatiyyah orders. He mastered the al-Khalwatiyyah order under the guidance of the Damascene Shaykh Muṣṭafā b. Kamāl ad-Dīn al-Bakrī (1099-1162/1688-1749), and through persistent training and solitude, he attained the state of illumination (*kashf*), and was later appointed as al-Bakrī's *khalīfah*.<sup>143</sup> A branch of this Order was later named after him, known as *aṭ-Ṭarīqah al-Khalwatiyyah* as-Sammāniyyah in Medina and elsewhere, which later gained popularity especially in the Malay world. It is important to note that Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī also had several other prominent disciples who were leading scholars of the eighteenth century. They included Muḥammad b. Sālīm al-Ḥifnī or al-Ḥifnāwī (1101-81/1689-1767) who founded a branch of the al-Khalwatiyyah Order in Egypt known as al-Khalwatiyyah al-Ḥifnāwiyyah Order and was also appointed as al-Bakrī's *khalīfah* in Egypt.<sup>144</sup>

Muḥammad as-Sammān himself was among the students of the renowned Yemeni saint 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alawī al-Ḥaddād (d. 1132/1719) of Tarīm, and was a disciple of the two renowned *muḥaddiths* of Mecca, Aḥmad an-Nakhlī (d. 1130/1717) and 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī (d. 1134/1722).<sup>145</sup> However, from his date of birth, it is clear that all three scholars must have been his teachers by way of a kind of honorary *ijāzah* given to him; perhaps requested by his own father, as he was still very young when these two Meccan scholars died.

Other than the aforementioned Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī, as-Sammān also studied directly with a number of prominent scholars of his time. They included, among others, Muḥammad ad-Daqqāq ar-Ribāṭī al-Maghribī al-Madanī (d. 1158/1745),<sup>146</sup> Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (1080-1145/1669-1732), Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī al-Madanī (d.

1194/1780), Sayyid 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-'Aṭṭār al-'Absi al-Ḥalabī (1106-71/1694-1757), 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh al-Kurdī ash-Shāmī of Damascus (1074-1179/1663-1765), 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Aḥmad b. Barakāt al-Aḥmadī at-Ṭanṭawī al-Miṣrī (d. 1154/1741), Muḥammad Ḥayāt as-Sindī (d. 1163/1749), Muḥammad b. Sālīm al-Ḥifnī, Muḥammad Sa'īd Hilāl al-Makkī (d. 1175/1761), Muḥammad Ṭāhir at-Tinbuktī (originally from Timbuktu in Mali, West Africa), Sayyid 'Aṭiyat Allāh as-Sindī, al-Junayd al-Madanī, Ibrāhīm al-Mashīshī, Aḥmad al-Maghribī, and Ḥabīb 'Alawī and Ḥabīb Ḥasan, sons of Sayyid 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alawī al-Ḥaddād.<sup>147</sup>

As a renowned saint of his time, as-Sammān attracted numerous students and disciples. Among his disciples were 'Abd al-Bāqī b. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ ash-Sha'āb al-Anṣārī al-Madanī (d. after 1236/1821),<sup>148</sup> Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn al-'Alawī al-Jufī (1149-86/1726-73), Muḥammad Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Murād al-Anṣārī as-Sindī, Ṣāliḥ b. Muḥammad al-'Umarī al-Fullānī (1166-1218/1752-1803), Muḥammad at-Tāwadī Ibn Sūdah (1111-1209/1700-95), 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Maghribī, Ṣiddīq b. 'Umar Khān al-Madanī, who studied with him for nearly twenty-five years, and Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī who relates that he received an *ijāzah* from him by way of correspondence.<sup>149</sup>

However, according to Ṣiddīq al-Madanī, the most esteemed among as-Sammān's students who benefited greatly from him, in his own terms, "*wa-kān min aḡalli talāmidhatihi akhdhan wa-a'zamuhum manāran*" was 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Jāwī al-Falimbānī al-Makkī.<sup>150</sup> It is quite clear from Ṣiddīq's statement that 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī had earned the most esteemed position among as-Sammān's disciples.

Al-Falimbānī himself states that among as-Sammān's writings that he read directly with him was his *an-Nafaḥāt al-Ilāhiyyah fī Kayfiyyat Sulūk Ṭarīqat al-Muḥammadiyah*. Later, as-Sammān instructed him to read this work again with one of his disciples, 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Maghribī (see below). This *an-Nafaḥāt al-Ilāhiyyah*, according to al-Falimbānī, contains the entire prerequisites, fundamental elements and guidance for seekers of al-Khalwatiyyah as-Sammāniyyah Order and is strongly recommended to novices seeking this order. Obviously al-Falimbānī attached much value to as-Sammān's *an-Nafaḥāt al-Ilāhiyyah*, for he relates that he heard it from Ṣiddīq al-Madanī who in turn heard it from 'Abd al-Khāliq al-Mizjājī in Zabīd, another disciple of as-Sammān,

who had read this work with Aḥmad al-Muqrī and related that upon completing his reading that al-Muqrī invited the ‘*ulamā*’ of Zabīd to attend the concluding ceremony (*khatm*). During the *khatm*, al-Muqrī was seen by al-Mizjājī to be preoccupied, as if ‘drowned’ in a state of ecstasy until the *khatm* was over. Al-Muqrī then commented that the author, Shaykh as-Sammān, had attained a very esteemed rank and asked the audience if anyone else sees what he just saw; informing them that he saw the souls of the prophets and saints attending the gathering.<sup>151</sup>

Other writings of as-Sammān that al-Falimbānī listed as having read with the author include ‘*Unwān al-Jalwah fī Sha’ni al-Khalwah, Ighāthah al-Lahfān [wa-Mu’ānasat al-Walhān fī ‘dh-Dhikr wa-Ādābihi wa-Kayfiyātih]*, *al-Futūḥāt al-Ilāhiyyah fī at-Tawajjuhāt ar-Rūḥiyyah li ‘l-Ḥaḍrat al-Muḥammadiyyah*,<sup>152</sup> *Kashf al-Asrār fī-mā Yata’allaq bihi Ism al-Qaḥḥār*,<sup>153</sup> reported to have been published under the title *Risālah fī Sharḥ Ismihi al-Qaḥḥār, an-Naṣīḥat al-‘Uluwiyyah li ‘s-Sādat al-Aḥdaliyyah, Risālat Asrār al-‘Ibādāh, Mawlid an-Nabī SAW*, and *Qaṣīdat Istighāthah wa-Madā’ih*.<sup>154</sup> Unfortunately, thus far I have only been able to consult as-Sammān’s *an-Nafaḥāt al-Ilāhiyyah* as the rest remain either undiscovered or inaccessible.

Another work by as-Sammān on Ṣūfism, which, according to al-Falimbānī, is recommended for the intermediate level of seekers (*mutawassīṭ*) of the mystical path that he read with his master, was a commentary of *Raslān*’s *al-Ḥikam* by Shaykh al-Islām Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī entitled *Faṭḥ ar-Raḥmān*. He points out that this book was the first book that he read with him.<sup>155</sup> This without doubt also indicates that al-Falimbānī was already an intermediate seeker well equipped to learn difficult and complicated subjects when he started studying with as-Sammān. This also tells us that not only he must have studied thoroughly the exoteric Islamic sciences with several other ‘*ulamā*’, but that he had attained a certain stage on the Ṣūfī path before pursuing the esoteric sciences with as-Sammān.

It is clear from his own writings that al-Falimbānī esteemed and revered Muḥammad as-Sammān above all others, calling him his spiritual guide and the ‘leader of the saints of his time’ (*qutb al-awlīya ‘hadhā az-zamān*), and that he became his most ardent follower and admirer.<sup>156</sup>



As-Sammān died at the time of *ḍuḥā* (early morning after sunrise) on Wednesday, 2 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1189/25 January 1776 and was interred at al-Baqī' cemetery in Medina.<sup>157</sup> He was succeeded by his son 'Abd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad as-Sammān, better known as Ibn as-Sammān, who according to Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī was also a renowned scholar and *Ṣūfī* master and assumed his position as the Shaykh of al-Khalwatiyyah as-Sammāniyyah Order after his father's death.<sup>158</sup> Among his descendents that can be traced is Shaykh Abū al-Ḥasan b. 'Abd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Qādirī as-Sammān. Born in Medina in the early thirteenth/late eighteenth century, he lived mostly a solitary life in a garden named al-'Ulyā close to Qurbān, a land reported to have been purchased by his grandfather (Muḥammad as-Sammān) when he reportedly foresaw by way of prescient illumination (*al-kashf*) that a child will be born to his son at that place. Abū al-Ḥasan was reported to have several miracles and countless supernatural attainments, among them he is said to have known his exact time of death seven days in advance. He died in 1258/1842, and was interred at al-Baqī' in Medina.<sup>159</sup>

According to az-Ziriklī, some of as-Sammān's disciples compiled separate works on his virtues, these include, *Durrat 'Iqd Jīd az-Zamān fī Manāqib ash-Shaykh Muḥammad as-Sammān*, *ad-Durrar al-Ḥisān fī Manāqib as-Sammān*, *Manāyih al-Karīm al-Mannān fī Manāqib Sidi ash-Shaykh Muḥammad as-Sammān*, *Manāqib Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān al-Madanī*, and *Bahjat Dhawī 'L-'Irfān fī Manāqib Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān*.<sup>160</sup>

Without doubt, as-Sammān's reputation and fame as a highly revered *walī* in Medina also reached the Malay Archipelago, most probably through 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī and his disciples. His *manāqib* and *Rātib as-Sammān* were widely read throughout the Malay world.<sup>161</sup> As already mentioned in Chapter One, some *Jāwī* scholars, for instance Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Kemas Badr ad-Dīn, who probably was one of al-Falimbānī's students, wrote a book entitled *Nafaḥāt ar-Raḥmān fī Manāqib Ustādhinā al-A'zam as-Sammān*, on the virtues (*manāqib*) and miracles (*karāmāt*) of as-Sammān. Since this *Nafaḥāt ar-Raḥmān* also devoted a chapter to numerous *karāmāt* of as-Sammān reported by his students after his death, it is obvious that it must have been written after his death in 1189/1775.



The next teacher of al-Falimbānī in Medina was ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-‘Umarī ash-Shinqīṭī al-Maghribī al-Mālikī (d. 1181/1767), who himself was also one of as-Sammān’s disciples.<sup>162</sup> Al-Murādī tells us that ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān ash-Shinqīṭī originated from Northwest Africa (modern day Mauritania) and settled down in Medina where he taught and died. Al-Murādī adds that he had a blessed breath or spirit (*lahu nafas mubārak*) over his students that whoever studied with him attained the opening and success in the pursuit of knowledge (*ḥaṣal lahu al-futūḥ*).<sup>163</sup> According to ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī himself, upon as-Sammān’s instruction, he read his aforementioned *an-Nafahāt al-Ilāhiyyah* and al-Burhānpūrī’s *at-Tuḥfat al-Mursalāh* with ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Maghribī. Al-Falimbānī also expresses his obvious veneration of ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Maghribī as he designates him with the title ‘the knower of God, the learned, the great scholar, the master of both the rational and traditional sciences, and external and internal knowledge’ (*al-‘ārif bi-Allāh al-‘ālim al-‘allāmah al-jāmi‘ bayna ‘ilm al-ma‘qūl wa ‘l-manqūl wa-‘ilm az-ẓāhir wa ‘l-bāṭin*).<sup>164</sup>

Though al-Falimbānī did not mention any of ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Maghribī’s writings, we can gather from other sources that a work entitled *Ṭawālī‘ al-Faṭḥ* compiled in 1180/1766 was ascribed to him.<sup>165</sup>

The next teacher of al-Falimbānī in Medina was Ṣiddīq b. ‘Umar Khān al-Madanī, also another disciple of as-Sammān.<sup>166</sup> Though Ṣiddīq al-Madanī may have been a teacher of al-Falimbānī, as he relates that he read several works with him upon as-Sammān’s instruction, we shall see shortly from his close relation that he should more appropriately be considered his close colleague rather than teacher.

Unfortunately, even after extensive search, I have not been able to find any biographical dictionary that provides us with a biographical notice on him. However, from Aḥmad ‘Abd al-Majīd Harīdī’s edition of Ṣiddīq al-Madanī’s *Qaṭf Azhār al-Mawāhib ar-Rabbāniyyah min Afnān Riyāḍ an-Nafḥat al-Qudsiyyah*, I have been able to gather some biographical details about him. Despite no available records on Ṣiddīq al-Madanī’s dates of birth and death, Harīdī tells us that he was born in India as indicated in his own writing, and later travelled to Medina where he met as-Sammān’s student, Sayyid Muḥsin Muqaybil. The latter suggested that Ṣiddīq al-Madanī accompany him to meet and take

the pledge of allegiance (*bay'ah*) from Muḥammad as-Sammān. Ṣiddīq became a devotee of as-Sammān for twenty-five years, probably from the year 1164/1750. He later travelled - after as-Sammān's death - to Sannār in Sudan and studied with Shaykh Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān aṣ-Ṣāyigh as-Sannārī, and to Zabīd where he studied with Shaykh Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān al-Makkī.<sup>167</sup>

Ṣiddīq al-Madanī was reported to have a *zāwiyah*<sup>168</sup> in Jeddah, a *zāwiyah* that was named after his teacher as-Sammān known as *az-Zāwiyah as-Sammāniyyah*, where he died and was buried. The location of this *zāwiyah*, according to Harīdī, can still be identified to this day. As for his *karāmāt*, Ṣiddīq al-Madanī was reported to have been challenged by seeing *Iblīs* (the Devil) twice: the first time was in India and the second in *al-Ḥaramayn*. During a drought in Sannār, Sudan, it was reported to have rained immediately after his invocation and *tawassul* (supplication to God) through as-Sammān's *qaṣīdah* (poem), most probably the earlier mentioned *Qaṣīdat Istighāthah wa-Madā'ih*.<sup>169</sup>

In a Malay tract on as-Sammān's *manāqib* (merits) entitled *Alamat Surat Manaqib Tuan Syekh Muhammad Samman Serta Surat Mi'raj*, which is still being recited in Banjar, Indonesia up to the present day, Ṣiddīq al-Madanī was also reported to have been the *khalīfah* (successor) of as-Sammān in Medina.<sup>170</sup>

Among his writings that al-Falimbānī listed were, [*al-Futūḥāt*] *as-Sammāniyyah fī Sulūk al-Waḥdāniyyah*,<sup>171</sup> *an-Nafḥat as-Sammāniyyah fī [Maḥāsīn] aṭ-Ṭarīqat al-Qādiriyyah*, *Murshid aṭ-Ṭullāb ilā Sulūk Ṭarīq al-Aḥbāb*, *Sharḥ Tawassul Muḥammad as-Sammān*, and *Kashf al-Astār al-Wahmiyyah 'an Jamāl Muḥyī an-Nafḥat al-Qudsiyyah*, a commentary on as-Sammān's poem *al-'Ayniyyah*.<sup>172</sup> Apparently, all of these titles are writings on Ṣūfism. Al-Falimbānī himself read *al-'Ayniyyah* with Ṣiddīq al-Madanī and his commentaries on Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī's writings on *tawḥīd*: *Tawḥīd al-af'āl*, *Tawḥīd al-asmā'*, *Tawḥīd aṣ-ṣifāt* and *Tawḥīd adh-dhāt* after reading the *matn* (text) of these works with as-Sammān himself. It was in these commentaries, according to al-Falimbānī, that Ṣiddīq al-Madanī included his name in the prologue, perhaps because they were written upon his request.<sup>173</sup>

Although it was upon the instruction of as-Sammān that al-Falimbānī studied and read several works with Ṣiddīq al-Madanī, as

I have indicated earlier, he was more of an esteemed colleague than a teacher to him. This evidently can be seen from their close relations, for instance, it was upon al-Falimbānī's request that Ṣiddīq al-Madanī wrote for him his *Qatf Azhār al-Mawāhib ar-Rabbāniyyah*, a commentary on as-Sammān's poem, *an-Nafḥat al-Qudsiyyah*, a commentary intended for his fellow Muslims in Palembang. In the prologue of the *Qatf Azhār*, Ṣiddīq al-Madanī writes: "be informed O my brethren, that I am a helpless and a weak servant. I was requested by a brother in the *ṭarīqah*, the Gnostic of God, the divine (*ar-rabbānī*) our master Shaykh 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Jāwī al-Falimbānī to write a commentary on this *al-ʿayniyyah* poem known as *an-Nafḥat al-Qudsiyyah* attributed to our above-mentioned teacher [as-Sammān] who is more known than 'a mountain crowned by light.' He had seen my other commentary on this poem, but it was in esoteric language (*al-ḥaqā'iq*). Thus, he instructed me to elucidate it in exoteric language (*aṣ-ṣāḥir*) which can be understood by those who are not acquainted with the intricacies of knowledge (*ad-daḡā'iq*). I complied with his request immediately turning to God for help to unbind its symbols."<sup>174</sup>

On the other hand, according to al-Falimbānī, when he himself completed a treatise on *waḥdat al-wujūd* based on the teachings that he received from as-Sammān, Ṣiddīq al-Madanī was the first to read this work and later gave it the title *Zād al-Muttaqīn fī Tawḥīd Rabb al-ʿĀlamīn*.<sup>175</sup> Thus, both these occasions clearly reflect the close relations and mutual estimation between Ṣiddīq al-Madanī and 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī as fellow disciples of as-Sammān.

Another teacher with whom al-Falimbānī studied during his sojourn in Medina was 'Abd al-Ghanī b. Abī Bakr b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Fattānī al-Qāsim, who according to him was better known as 'al-ʿĀlim aṣ-Ṣūfī al-Hindī al-Madanī'.<sup>176</sup> According to Ṣiddīq al-Madanī, 'Abd al-Ghanī originated from India and purposely travelled to Medina to meet and study with as-Sammān. He adhered to as-Sammān for the whole duration of his sojourn in Medina where he later died and was buried in al-Baqī' cemetery.<sup>177</sup> Unfortunately Ṣiddīq al-Madanī did not provide us with details of the year of his arrival, duration of his sojourn in Medina or the year of his death.

Al-Falimbānī himself tells us that he read with 'Abd al-Ghanī his book entitled *Fath ar-Raḥmān*, an exposition of as-Sammān's *Risālat*



*Asrār al-ʿIbādāt*, and several other writings on Ṣūfism (which he does not specify) upon the instructions of as-Sammān.<sup>178</sup> Thus, it is clear that he met and studied with him in Medina and during the lifetime of as-Sammān, i.e. before 1189/1775, which is the date of the latter's death.

Another renowned scholar with whom al-Falimbānī studied during his sojourn in Medina was Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī al-Madanī ash-Shāfiʿī (1127-94/1715-80).<sup>179</sup> He was born in Damascus, and at the age of one was brought to Medina, where he grew up and mastered both *al-ʿilm an-naqlī* (traditional Islamic sciences) and *al-ʿilm al-ʿaqlī* (rational sciences). He was also known to be a *faqīh* (jurist) and was appointed as the *mufī* of the Shāfiʿī School of Islamic jurisprudence in Medina.<sup>180</sup>

Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī studied with prominent scholars of his time, including his father Sulaymān, Muḥammad Saʿīd Sunbul, the then Shāfiʿī *mufī* of Mecca, whose lecture at the Prophet's Mosque in Medina he attended on the 2<sup>nd</sup> Dhū al-Qaʿdah 1170/19<sup>th</sup> July 1757 and from whom he narrated *al-Awāʾil as-Sunbuliyyah*.<sup>181</sup> Muḥammad al-Kurdī's teachers also included Yūsuf al-Kurdī, Abū Ṭāhir al-Kūrānī, Aḥmad al-Jawharī, Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī, the famous Master of al-Khalwatiyyah Order, among others.

Among his students other than ʿAbd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī himself, were his son ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Kurdī and other prominent scholars, such as the Shāfiʿī arch-*Musnids* of Ahl al-Bayt: Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn b. ʿAlawī Jamāl al-Layl al-Madanī (d. 1235/1819), ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān al-Ahdal, Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, the renowned *muḥaddith* Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī, and the two Damascene *muḥaddiths* Muḥammad Shākir al-ʿAqqād (d. 1222/1807), and Muḥammad al-Kuzbarī (d. 1221/1806). They also included a number of other previously mentioned scholars such as the eminent Ṣūfī Master, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm as-Sammān himself, Muḥammad b. Sālīm al-Ḥifnī, and the reformer and founder of the Wahhābī movement, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (d. 1206/1792) who was also a student of the Indian *muḥaddith* of Medina, Muḥammad Ḥayāt as-Sindī.<sup>182</sup>

ʿAbd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī obviously venerated Muḥammad al-Kurdī highly as he eulogised him as “*Shaykhunā al-ʿālim al-ʿallāmah al-ʿāmil bi-ʿilmihī Mawlānā* ash-Shaykh Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī al-Madanī *al-mufī fī ʿl-Madinah al-Munawwarah*” (Our teacher,



the savant, the great scholar, the one who practices in accordance with his knowledge, our master, Shaykh Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī al-Madanī, the *muftī* in Medina).<sup>183</sup> He retained his position as the *muftī* until he died on 16<sup>th</sup> Rabī‘ al-Awwal 1194/20<sup>th</sup> March 1780 at the age of sixty-seven.<sup>184</sup>

Among al-Kurdī’s writings was *al-Ḥawāshī al-Madaniyyah ‘alā Sharḥ al-Muqaddimah al-Ḥaḍramiyyah* [‘alā ‘l-Minhāj al-Qawīm], ‘*Uqūd ad-Durar fī Bayān Muṣṭalahāt Tuḥfat Ibn Ḥajar*, both based on *fiqh* commentaries by Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī, with the latter explaining technical terms found in his famous *Tuḥfat al-Muhtāj*. Al-Kurdī’s writings also include *al-Fawā‘id al-Madaniyyah fī-man Yuftā bi-Qawlihi min A’immat ash-Shāfi‘iyyah*, on Shāfi‘ī *muftīs*, *Kāshif al-Lithām ‘an Ḥukm at-Tajarrud Qabl al-Mīqāt bilā Ḥrām*, on aspects of the pilgrimage, *ath-Thaḡhr al-Bassām ‘an Ma‘ānī as-Suwar allatī Yuzawwij fihā al-Ḥukkām*, on the use of certain verses of the Qur’ān as source of jurisprudence, *Sharḥ ‘alā Manẓūmāt an-Nāsikh wa ‘l-Mansūkh*, a commentary on a collection of poems on those verses of the Qur’ān which abrogate and are abrogated, *Zahr ar-Rubā fī Bayān Aḥkām ar-Ribā*, on clarifying the law of usury, *al-Intibāh fī Ta‘jīl aṣ-Ṣalah*, on attentiveness regarding the hastening of prayers, *Kashf al-Murūt ‘an Muḥdhirāt mā-li ‘l-Wuḍū’ min ‘sh-Shurūt*, on the conditions of ablution, *Fatāwā al-Kurdī*; and *ad-Durrat al-Bahiyyah fī Jawāb al-As’ilat al-Jāwīyah*.<sup>185</sup> The latter, was written to answer questions posed by his *Jāwī* students, which signifies the attention given by scholars of *al-Ḥaramayn* to *Jāwī* issues. However and unfortunately, I have not been able to locate copy of this work. From the entire list, most of Muḥammad al-Kurdī’s works deal with *fiqh*, which further indicates his expertise in this field, although he is usually counted as a *Ṣūfī* above all.

Another scholar who should be included among al-Falimbānī’s teachers was Mushayyakh Bā-‘Ubūd.<sup>186</sup> According to al-Ḥabshī, he is Mushayyakh b. Zayn Bā-‘Ubūd al-‘Alawī (d. 1170/1756). He was born in Ḥaḍramawt, Yemen and later, around 1115/1703 migrated to Medina.<sup>187</sup> Among Mushayyakh’s best-known teachers in Yemen were the earlier mentioned Tarīm saint ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥaddād and Aḥmad b. Hāshim b. Aḥmad al-Ḥabshī, with both of whom he studied exoteric and esoteric sciences, both clothed him with the *Ṣūfī* cloak (*al-khirqah*) and initiated

him into *al-ʿAlawīyyah* Order. He also studied with ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh Balfaqīh in Medina, who in turn studied with prominent ʿulamāʾ such as Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd ar-Rasūl al-Barzanjī, Ḥasan al-ʿUjāyīmī, Aḥmad an-Nakhlī, and ʿAbd Allāh al-Baṣrī; the last two, with whom Mushyayyakh also studied directly. He can also be included among the students of the renowned Ḥanafī *Ṣūfī* shaykh, ʿAbd al-Ghanī an-Nābulusī of Damascus (d. 1143/1731), by way of correspondence (*murāsalaḥ*). Al-Ḥabshī points out that according to *Ṣūfī* mystical expression, Mushyayyakh Bā-ʿUbūd met an-Nābulusī spiritually (*al-ijtimāʿ ar-rūḥānī*).<sup>188</sup>

Among the writings on Islamic discipline that al-Falimbānī read with Mushyayyakh were *Sunan Ibn Mājah* on *ḥadīth*, and *Ḥāshiyat Sharḥ al-Jāmī ʿalā al-Kāfiyah*, an extensive gloss on ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān al-Jāmī's (d. 898/1492) *Fawā'id Wāfiyah fī Ḥall Mushkilāt al-Kāfiyah*, a commentary on Ibn al-Ḥājib's (d. 646/1249) *Kāfiyat Dhawī al-Ādāb fī ʿIlm Kalām al-ʿArab*, a concise textbook on Arabic grammar and syntax.<sup>189</sup>

The last from the list of ʿAbd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī's teachers in Medina is ʿĀqib b. Ḥasan ad-Dīn. According to al-Fādānī, he is ʿĀqib b. Ḥasan ad-Dīn b. Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Badr ad-Dīn al-Falimbānī as-Sumatrānī al-Madanī (d. ca. 1182/1768), the most learned of the *Jāwī ʿulamāʾ* who possessed the most numerous *isnāds* and the widest transmissions (*aktharuhum isnādan wa-awsa'uhum riwāyatan*), to an extent that he was known as an authority on *ḥadīth*, Qurʾān and jurisprudence (*al-muḥaddith al-ḥāfiẓ al-faqīh*). ʿĀqib had his numerous *isnāds* recorded in his two *thabats*, entitled *Thabat Ṣaghīr* and *Muʿjam Shuyūkh al-Ḥāfiẓ ʿĀqib al-Falimbānī*.<sup>190</sup> However, it is unfortunate that even after extensive search I have not been able to locate any copies of these works. Nevertheless, the fact that ʿĀqib had numerous *isnāds* and narrated extensively is certainly indisputable as we learn that most of ʿAbd aṣ-Ṣamad's *isnāds* pass through him.<sup>191</sup>

Although I haven't been able to find any mention of him in biographical dictionaries, ʿĀqib was, according to al-Fādānī, one of the *Jāwī* scholars who migrated to Medina and was bestowed with a long life (*al-muaʿmmar*) living for more than ninety years, dying in Medina around 1182/1768. Al-Fādānī points out that ʿĀqib studied directly with

Muḥammad as-Sammān, and received several Islamic sciences by way of *ijāzah* from both ‘Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī and Aḥmad an-Nakhli.<sup>192</sup> It was believed that ‘Āqib once owed a large sum of money and was unable to repay his debt. He then said to himself that if as-Sammān was indeed a true *walī*, then through him God would definitely release him from his burden. In less than a year, he was said to have been able to pay back all his debt, which he attributed to the *karāmat* of as-Sammān.<sup>193</sup>

‘Āqib’s list of teachers, according to al-Fādānī, also included scholars such as the aforementioned *muftī* of Medina, Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī, Muḥammad Sa‘īd Sunbul, Ibn ‘Aqīlah, Muḥammad b. Sultān al-Walīdī (d. 1134/1721), Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-‘Ujaymī, ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Barr al-Wanā‘ī, ‘Abd al-Ḥāfiẓ b. Darwīsh al-‘Ujaymī, the *qāḍī* and *muftī* of Mecca, Sālīm b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī, and ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad an-Nakhli, the sons of the two above mentioned renowned *muḥaddith* of Mecca, ‘Umar b. ‘Aqīl as-Saqqāf, Amr Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Khāliq al-Mizjājī, Jarjis (or Jirjis) b. Aḥmad Afandī, Ḥasan b. ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Jabartī, and ‘Abd al-Majīd b. ‘Alī al-Manālī, better known as az-Zayādī al-Ḥasanī al-Idrīsī.<sup>194</sup> It is worth noting that Muḥammad al-‘Ujaymī and ‘Abd al-Ḥāfiẓ al-‘Ujaymī were the son and grandson of Ḥasan al-‘Ujaymī respectively.<sup>195</sup>

It is important to point out that many other members of ‘Āqib’s family are also included among the *Jāwī* scholars who took up residence in *al-Ḥaramayn*. They include for instance, his brother Ṣāliḥ, his father Ḥasan ad-Dīn, his uncle Ṭayyib, and his grandfather, Ja‘far b. Muḥammad b. Badr ad-Dīn al-Falimbānī. The latter was a *ḥadīth* scholar who studied with, among others, the earlier mentioned famous Egyptian scholar Shams ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-‘Alā’ al-Bābilī. It is highly likely that he met and studied with al-Bābilī during his regular visits to *al-Ḥaramayn* where he performed the *ḥajj* and stayed for a while to teach. His grandfather Ja‘far died in Mecca in 1128/1715.<sup>196</sup>

In addition to ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad, ‘Āqib’s students also included Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ b. Ibrāhīm ar-Ra’īs az-Zamzamī (1187-1240/1773-1824), the *muftī* of Mecca and the son of the earlier mentioned al-Falimbānī’s Meccan teacher, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad ar-Ra’īs az-Zamzamī, the Meccan *muḥaddith*, Abū Ḥafṣ ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-Karīm



b. 'Abd ar-Rasūl al-'Aṭṭār (d. 1249/1833), Sulaymān al-Ahdal and his son, 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal.<sup>197</sup>

However, though 'Āqib was a teacher of 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī and a student of as-Sammān, apparently he had to take the pledge of allegiance (*bay'ah*) for initiation into al-Khalwatiyyah as-Sammāniyyah Order from 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad instead of as-Sammān himself. According to the *ṭarīqah silsilah* of Muḥammad Azharī b. 'Abd Allāh al-Falimbānī, he received the *talqīn* for the membership of the al-Khalwatiyyah as-Sammāniyyah Order from 'Abd Allāh b. Ma'rūf al-Falimbānī, who in turn received it from Muḥammad 'Āqib b. Ḥasan ad-Dīn al-Falimbānī, who received it from 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī, who in turn took the Order from Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān, who in turn received it from Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī, and so forth to the Prophet SAW.<sup>198</sup> This is probably because 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad had been appointed by as-Sammān as his *khalīfah* and hence the *bay'ah* had to be done through him. This without doubt reflects 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad's esteemed position as one of as-Sammān's closest *Ṣūfī* disciples, especially in the esoteric sciences, as he was appointed as his *khalīfah* he was entrusted by his teacher to initiate others, including his own teacher 'Āqib into this Order.

Perhaps, because of 'Āqib's initiation into the Order by 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad, modern scholars have mistakenly assumed he was his student. For instance, from the aforementioned *silsilah*, Shaghir Abdullah believes that 'Āqib was a student of 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad instead of his teacher.<sup>199</sup> However, from the numerous Islamic sciences that 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad studied with 'Āqib, it is obvious that he was his student and not his teacher. In addition, it is customary for traditional Islamic scholars to acquire knowledge from, or exchange *isnāds* (*tadabbaj*) with his peer or his student or a junior colleague. Such practices, according to Ḥusayn al-Ḥibshī, have ancient origins. For instance, he said this is exemplified by the Prophet SAW himself when he stood on the pulpit and said, "Tamīm ad-Dārī reported to me" on his account of *ad-Dajjāl* (anti-Christ).<sup>200</sup> Thus, 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad was 'Āqib's student in traditional Islamic traditions, but 'Āqib was his spiritual disciple in the *Ṣūfī* tradition, specifically in the Sammāniyyah Order.



Among the various branches of Islamic disciplines that ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad studied with ‘Āqib were *ḥadīth*, *as-siyar wa ‘l-maghāzī wa ‘sh-shamā’il* (history, account of the Prophet’s campaigns, and a collection of traditions on the traits of the Prophet SAW), *tafsīr*, *‘ulūm al-Qur’ān*, *‘ulūm al-ḥadīth*, *tawḥīd*, *fiqh* and *uṣūl al-fiqh*, *balāḡah* (rhetoric), *naḥw*, *ṣarf*, *taṣawwuf*, *tawārīkh* and *ṭabaqāt* (Islamic history and biographies). It is worthwhile noting that among the works on *taṣawwuf* he read with ‘Āqib was Ibn al-‘Arabī’s *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyyah*. This reflects ‘Āqib’s intellectual competency as a teacher of both exoteric and esoteric Islamic sciences.<sup>201</sup> However, from the Islamic literatures which ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad mainly read with him, it is clear that what he learned from him apparently were sciences, promoting an intellectual understanding of Islam rather than a spiritual or mystical one. In other words, ‘Āqib was an intellectual teacher for ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī, while on the other hand as-Sammān, as shown earlier, was his spiritual and mystical master; and ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad was the initiator of ‘Āqib into the Sammāniyyah *ṭarīqah*.

## Al-Falimbānī’s Learning Centres Outside The Arabian Peninsula

It has been generally assumed by modern scholars that ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī’s scholarly travel and sojourns were confined to the Arabian Peninsula region. However, careful examination of the sources would suggest that al-Falimbānī travelled to Egypt and Syria studying with notable scholars from both Cairo and Damascus.

Using the *isnād* works of al-Fādānī as a primary source, there is evidence that al-Falimbānī most probably studied in both Egypt and Syria. He certainly had several teachers from these regions. His Egyptian teachers mentioned by al-Fādānī include Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ al-Mujīrī al-Mullawī, Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Khālīdī al-Jawharī, his son, Muḥammad al-Jawharī, Dāwūd b. Sulaymān al-Kharibtāwī al-Miṣrī, ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Muṣṭafā al-‘Aydārūs, Muḥammad Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī al-Miṣrī, and ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Barr al-Wanā’ī. Furthermore, I was able to trace his teachers from Damascus, Ḥalab (Aleppo) and other parts of

Syria-Palestine. None of these have been mentioned by modern scholars. They were Aḥmad b. 'Ubayd al-'Aṭṭār, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad as-Saffārīnī (from Palestine), Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān al-'Aqīlī al-Ḥalabī al-'Umarī, 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Armanāzī al-Ḥalabī. This is in addition to Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Hilālī as-Sijilmāsī, who hailed originally from Morocco.

## Egypt

It was probably while studying in Mecca that al-Falimbānī, together with other *Jāwī* compatriots including Muḥammad Arshad al-Banjārī, 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Bugīsī, and 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Batāwī al-Miṣrī also travelled to Egypt to study with its scholars. Though we do not have evidence on when such travel to Egypt may have happened, it would appear from the list of the Egyptian teachers whom al-Falimbānī came in contact with and the report of his travels from his traditional account, that he studied in Egypt.<sup>202</sup> This conclusion is in accord with al-Fādānī's report when he points out that al-Falimbānī received his instructions *in Egypt* from, among others, the two Shihābs: Aḥmad al-Mullawī and Aḥmad al-Jawharī (*wa-rawā 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad ... bi-Miṣr 'an 'sh-Shihābayn, Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Fattāḥ al-Mullawī wa-Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Jawharī*).<sup>203</sup> Perhaps it was because of their sojourn in Egypt that his colleague, 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Batāwī, following the traditional custom for Islamic scholars to adopt a *nisbah* of a particular place due to their stay in that place, adopted the *nisbah* al-Miṣrī (the Egyptian).

One of the Egyptian scholars with whom 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī studied was Aḥmad al-Mullawī (1088-1182/1677-1767).<sup>204</sup> His full name was Shihāb ad-Dīn Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Fattāḥ b. Yūsuf b. 'Umar al-Mujīrī ash-Shāfī'ī al-Azhārī, more commonly known as Aḥmad al-Mullawī. His ancestors originated from Ḥama (Ḥamāh) on the Orontes River in central Syria. According to Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, on the authority of al-Mullawī himself, he was born at dawn (*fajr*) on Thursday, 2 Ramaḍān 1088/28 October 1677 in Cairo. He studied at al-Azhar and was later known as the *shaykh ash-shuyūkh* (Grand Master) and *musnid al-waqt* (*isnād*-expert of his time).<sup>205</sup>

Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī includes al-Mullawī among the first generation (*aṭ-ṭabaqat al-ūlā*) of his own teachers who in turn had met and studied with ‘Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī, Aḥmad an-Nakhlī, Aḥmad al-Bannā’ and Ḥasan al-‘Ujaymī. This group also included al-Mullawī’s fellow scholars, Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Jawharī (d. 1182/1768), who as we shall see shortly was also one of al-Falimbānī’s teachers, ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Āmir ash-Shubrāwī (d. 1171/1757), Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Mun‘im ad-Damanhūrī (d. 1192/1778), whom al-Falimbānī met and studied with in Mecca, and Sābiq b. Ramaḍān b. ‘Arām az-Za‘balī (1068-1182/1657-1768). The latter, according to Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, also met Muḥammad b. ‘Alā’ ad-Dīn al-Bābilī (d. 1078/1667).<sup>206</sup>

Aḥmad al-Mullawī travelled to *al-Ḥaramayn* in 1122/1710 where he met and studied with the two *muḥaddiths* of Mecca, ‘Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī and Aḥmad an-Nakhlī. He received *al-ḥadīth al-musalsal bi ‘l-awwaliyyah* from both, read with them the opening chapters of the six *ḥadīth* canonical books (*awā’il al-kutub as-sittah*), and was later granted their licence (*ijāzah*). During his sojourn in Mecca, al-Mullawī also took the opportunity to meet and study with Ilyās b. Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (1047-1138/1637-1726), Idrīs al-Yamānī, and Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad al-Kūrānī. He was included among the students of the latter’s father, Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī by way of general *ijāzah* (*al-ijāzah al-‘āmmah*).<sup>207</sup>

In an unpublished copy of his *Thabat*, Aḥmad al-Mullawī provides us with a comprehensive list of his teachers, the various branches of Islamic disciplines he studied and the books he read with them, together with his *isnāds* to these works. Among his teachers were Shāfi‘ī scholars such as Aḥmad b. al-Faqīh, ‘Ayd b. ‘Alī an-Numrusī, ‘Abd ar-Ra’ūf al-Bashbīshī, and ‘Abd Rabbih b. Aḥmad ad-Dīwī; and Mālikī scholars of Maghribī origin, such as Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Warzāzī, ‘Umar b. ‘Abd as-Salām at-Tiṭwānī, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Dāwūd as-Sanūsī al-Hashtūkī, and ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Maghribī al-Qaṣarī al-Kanaksī.<sup>208</sup>

Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī relates that he himself first attended Aḥmad al-Mullawī’s teaching sessions at al-Jāmi‘ al-Azhar in 1167/1754 when al-Mullawī gave lectures on ‘Alī al-Ashmūnī’s (d. 929/1522) commentary on Ibn Mālik’s (600-72/1204-73) *al-Alfiyyah* on Arabic grammar. This was later followed by a visit to his house on Friday, 22<sup>nd</sup> Rabī‘ ath-Thānī



1167/15<sup>th</sup> February 1754 where he received the *ḥadīth al-awwaliyyah* together with a “general and a specific licence” (*ijāzah ‘āmmah khāṣṣah*) from him. He later attended the reading with al-Mullawī of several chapters from the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* and several works of the famous *Ṣūfī* scholar ash-Sha‘rānī.<sup>209</sup>

Among al-Mullawī's writings were *Sharḥ as-Samarqandiyyah* on *al-balāghah* (rhetoric), glosses or marginalia (*ḥāshiyah*) on a well known North African *Ṣūfī*, Ibn ‘Azzūm al-Qayrawānī's (d. 972/1563) commentary on as-Sanūsī's (d. 895/1490) *Matn Umm al-Barāhīn* on *tawḥīd*, *ḥāshiyah* on Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī's (d. 926/1520) commentary on the introduction to Aristotle's Logic (*īsāghūjī* – i.e. Porphyry's Isagoge) by Athīr ad-Dīn al-Abharī (d. 663/1265), and an abridgment of ar-Ramlī's (d. 1004/1595) *fatwās*, a *Thabat*<sup>210</sup> containing a list of his teachers and the works he read with them, *al-La‘ālī al-Manthūrah ‘alā Naẓm al-Muwajjahāt*,<sup>211</sup> a treatise on theology and *Ṣūfīsm*.<sup>212</sup>

According to Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, al-Mullawī became ill throughout the later years of his life and was confined to his bed. However, he still had complete control over his senses and his students came daily to read with him different traditional Islamic disciplines. He died in Cairo on 15 Rabī‘ al-Awwal 1181/10 August 1767 and was interred at the Ḥusaynī Shrine (*al-Mashhad al-Ḥusaynī*).<sup>213</sup>

Among the subjects and books that ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad read with Aḥmad al-Mullawī were his own writings such as his *Ḥāshiyah* (marginalia) on al-Makūdī's (d. 807/1404) commentary entitled *Sharḥ al-Makūdī* on Ibn Mālik's *al-Alfiyyah* on grammar, ‘Abd al-Ghanī al-Maqdisī's (d. 600/1203) *Umdat al-Aḥkām [min Kalām Khayr al-Anām]*, a collection of legal *ḥadīths* taken from *aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥayn* (of al-Bukhārī and Muslim) related to rulings, all the works on Histories of Mecca (*Tawārīkh Makkah*) compiled by Taqī ad-Dīn al-Fāsī al-Makkī (d. 832/1429), including his *Shifā’ al-Gharām bi-Akḥbār al-Balad al-Ḥarām*, with its seven abridgments (*mukhtaṣarātuhu as-sab‘ah*), and *al-Iqd ath-Thamīn fī Tārīkh al-Balad al-Amīn*, with its three abridgment (*mukhtaṣarātuhu ath-thalāthah*), and Tāj ad-Dīn Ibn as-Subkī's (d. 771/1370) extensive biographical compilation of Shāfi‘ī jurists, *Ṭabaqāt ash-Shāfi‘iyyah al-Kubrā*.<sup>214</sup>



The next from al-Falimbānī's list of Egyptian teachers is Aḥmad al-Jawharī, a peer of the aforementioned Aḥmad al-Mullawī.<sup>215</sup> He is Shihāb ad-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ḥasan b. 'Abd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Karīm ad-Dīn al-Karīmī al-Khālīdī ash-Shāfī'ī al-Qāhirī al-Azharī (d. 1182/1768), better known as Aḥmad al-Jawharī, since his father was a gemstone merchant (*al-jawhar*), according to al-Jabartī, he was later distinguished by this *nisbah*.<sup>216</sup> It is worth noting that during this period, there were three renowned Egyptian scholars by the name of Aḥmad with the same *laqab* (title) Shihāb ad-Dīn, they were Aḥmad al-Mullawī, Aḥmad al-Jawharī and Aḥmad ad-Damanhūrī; they were in *isnād* occasionally referred to as the three Shihābs or three stars (*ash-Shuhub ath-thalāthah*) and coincidentally, all were al-Falimbānī's teachers.<sup>217</sup>

Aḥmad al-Jawharī was born in Cairo, Egypt in 1096/1684, and from childhood was engaged in learning and studying the Islamic sciences in which he surpassed his contemporaries. He later taught and gave guidance at al-Azhar for almost sixty years. He travelled several times to *al-Ḥaramayn*, first in 1120/1708 and then 1124/1712, when he met and studied with both 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī and Aḥmad an-Nakhli, narrating *ḥadīth* with high *isnād* from both, and again later in 1130/1717. Among the Islamic literatures which he read with al-Baṣrī and an-Nakhli were the six canonical *ḥadīth* books and he received the general *ijāzah* together with the *isnād* for the narration of *ḥadīth al-awwaliyyah* from both scholars.<sup>218</sup>

Aḥmad al-Jawharī was also reported to have travelled to Medina in 1168/1754 where he taught several subjects in ar-Rawḍah of the Prophet's Mosque, close to his tomb. These included at-Tirmidhī's *ash-Shamā'il*, on special qualities of the Prophet SAW, *Sharḥ al-Jawharah* on theology, which he himself had written a gloss (*ḥāshiyah*), and on Ṣūfism, the exposition of *al-Ḥikam* by Ibn 'Abbād ar-Rundī (d. 792/1390).<sup>219</sup>

Evidently, on *Ṣūfī ṭarīqah* Aḥmad al-Jawharī followed the *ash-Shādhiliyyah* Order, since we know that he was the *murshid* (spiritual guide) for the Syrian scholar Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Khalīl al-'Ajlūnī ad-Dimashqī (1128-93/1716-79), better known as Abū al-Faṭḥ. The latter received initiation into this order from al-Jawharī during his study in Egypt from 1157/1744 to 1165/1751.<sup>220</sup> Another renowned

Egyptian scholar, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Azharī (1154-1232/1741-1816), better known as al-Amīr al-Kabīr was also initiated into the *ash-Shādhiliyyah* Order by al-Jawharī and later permitted to issue *ijāzah* for this Order.<sup>221</sup>

Among his writings were *Hāshiyah* on al-Lāqānī's (d. 1041/1631) commentary on his own *Jawharat at-Tawḥīd*, a work on the verification of saints' miracles in their life and after their death entitled *Fayḍ al-Ilāh al-Muta'āl fī Ithbāt Karāmāt al-Awliyā' fī 'l-Ḥayāt wa-Ba'd al-Intiqāl*. On scholastic theology ('ilm al-kalām) he wrote a work entitled *Khāliṣ an-Naf'ah fī Bayān al-Maṭālib as-Sab'ah*, *Munqidhat al-'Abīd min Ribqat at-Taqlīd*, which dealt with deliverance from the noose of imitation, and *al-Mabāḥith al-Marḍiyyah as-Saniyyah fī Nazāhat al-Anbiyā' 'an Kullī mā Yunqīṣ Maqāmātihim al-'Aliyyah az-Zakiyyah*, a text discussing the Islamic religious concept of Prophetic transcendence which rebuts anything that decreases their high stations.<sup>222</sup> Among the works that 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad read with Aḥmad al-Jawharī were ash-Sha'rānī's (d. 973/1565) *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-Ṣūfiyyah*, a biographical compilation on eminent *Ṣūfīs*.<sup>223</sup>

According to al-Fādānī, al-Jawharī compiled a list of his own teachers in his *Thabat al-Jawharī*, of which a copy was reportedly owned by al-Kattānī. The latter points out that al-Jawharī's *Thabat* included a list of his teachers and copies of *ijāzahs* written and given to him by the first fifteen teachers listed in that work.<sup>224</sup>

The historian al-Jabartī reports that al-Jawharī died in Cairo at sunset, on Wednesday, 8 Jumādā al-Ūlā 1182/20 September 1768. Funeral rites were held at al-Azhar Mosque with an overflow of mourners and he was interred at az-Zāwiyah al-Qādiriyyah.<sup>225</sup>

The next Egyptian teacher of al-Falimbānī was Muḥammad al-Jawharī.<sup>226</sup> He is Shams ad-Dīn Abū Hādī Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Khālīdī ash-Shāfi'ī, better known as Ibn al-Jawharī (1151-1215/1738-1800). He was the youngest among the sons of the aforementioned Aḥmad al-Jawharī, and was thus known as al-Jawharī aṣ-Ṣaghīr to distinguish him from his father as well as his two brothers, Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Jawharī (1132-87/1719-73) and 'Abd al-Fattāḥ b. Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Jawharī (1141-1215/1728-1800), who were also leading scholars of Egypt.<sup>227</sup>

Muḥammad al-Jawharī was born in Egypt and grew up under the guidance of his father and, like him, was known as a traditionist. He also studied with his brother Aḥmad b. Aḥmad al-Jawharī and other leading Egyptian scholars of his father's generation such as Aḥmad al-Mullawī, 'Aṭīyyah al-Burhānī al-Qāhirī al-Ajhūrī (d. 1194/1780), Khalīl b. Muḥammad at-Tūnī al-Maghribī, and Ḥasan al-Jabartī (d. 1188/1774). His expertise included the field of *fiqh* and he was such a prominent Shāfi'ī *faqīh* in Egypt that the Shāfi'ī scholars unanimously nominated him for the Office of Al-Azhar rectorship after the death of Aḥmad ad-Damanhūrī (d. 1192/1778) but he declined the nomination.<sup>228</sup>

Although he lived mostly in Egypt, Muḥammad al-Jawharī travelled frequently to *al-Ḥaramayn*, where besides performing the *hajj*, he studied and taught students there. In 1168/1754, he accompanied his father to the *hajj* and took the opportunity to study in aṭ-Ṭā'if with 'Abd Allāh al-Mīrghani, the above-mentioned teacher of al-Falimbānī. He later wrote a commentary on al-Mīrghani's *al-Mu'jam al-Wajīz [fī Aḥādīth an-Nabī al-'Azīz]*.<sup>229</sup> In 1187/1773 and 1199/1784, he again went for *hajj* with his family where he stayed for a year and conducted lectures at al-Masjid al-Ḥarām.<sup>230</sup> Apart from meeting him in Egypt, it is also likely that al-Falimbānī attended his teaching sessions during these visits to Mecca. We know that, al-Falimbānī was already back in Mecca in 1187/1773 after staying in Medina since he completed his work on *jihād* entitled *Naṣīḥat al-Muslimīn* in Mecca in that year. Another *Jāwī* scholar, Muḥammad Nafīs al-Banjārī relates that in 1201/1786 he attended Muḥammad al-Jawharī's teaching sessions at al-Masjid al-Ḥarām in Mecca and among the lessons were lectures on *taṣawwuf*.<sup>231</sup>

Muḥammad al-Jawharī was also a prolific author, which added to his fame as one of the leading Egyptian scholars. Al-Baghdādī provides forty titles by him, while al-Bayṭār lists thirty-seven of them; most of his writings deal with jurisprudence, theology, grammar and *taṣawwuf*. Muḥammad al-Jawharī was also evidently proficient in *'ilm al-falak* (astronomy) and he compiled a treatise on the method of astronomical calculations to determine the visibility of the crescent moon for the fasting month (*Ramaḍān*) entitled *Khulāṣat al-Bayān fī Kayfiyyat Thubūt Ramaḍān*.<sup>232</sup> The younger al-Jawharī died in Cairo on Sunday, 21 Dhū al-Qa'dah 1215/5 April 1801 and funeral rites were held at al-Azhar



with an overflow of mourners and he was interred next to his father and brother at az-Zāwiyah al-Qādiriyyah.<sup>233</sup>

Another Egyptian teacher of al-Falimbānī was Dāwūd b. Sulaymān b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. 'Āmir b. Khidr ash-Sharnūbī al-Burhānī al-Kharibtāwī<sup>234</sup> al-Miṣrī al-Mālikī (1080-1170/1669-1757). He was a scholar of *ḥadīth* and was given the honorific title *al-musnid*.<sup>235</sup> According to Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, he was born in Kharibtā, in the governorate of al-Buḥayrah, north Egypt, and studied with eminent scholars of his time such as Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Bāqī al-Azharī az-Zurqānī al-Mālikī (1055-1122/1645-1710), and al-Kharashī, among others.<sup>236</sup> According to al-Fādānī, Dāwūd al-Kharibtāwī's students included 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī, 'Abd ar-Razzāq al-Bakārī from al-Quṭay', Yemen, Amr Allāh b. 'Abd al-Khāliq al-Mizjājī, and Abū al-Qāsim b. Sulaymān al-Hajjām. All four studied az-Zurqānī's *Sharḥ al-Muwaṭṭa'*, a commentary on Imām Mālik's famous work, and the rest of az-Zurqānī's works with him. Al-Kharibtāwī had read the *Sharḥ* with the expositor, Muḥammad az-Zurqānī, together with the rest of his works, such as *Sharḥ al-Mawāhib al-Ladunniyyah*, and *Mukhtaṣar al-Maqāsid al-Ḥasanah fī Bayān Kathīrin min 'l-Aḥādīth al-Mushtahirah 'alā 'l-Alsinah*.<sup>237</sup> In another *isnād*, al-Fādānī also points out that al-Falimbānī read Yāsīn al-Ḥimṣī's (d. 1061/1650) *Ḥāshiyat at-Taṣrīḥ 'alā 't-Tawḍīḥ*, a work on Arabic grammar, with Dāwūd al-Kharibtāwī, who in turn had studied it with Ilyās al-Kūrānī, who had studied it with Ḥasan al-'Ujaymī, who had studied it with Aḥmad al-Bannā ad-Dimyāṭī, who in turn had studied with its author Yāsīn al-Ḥimṣī, originally from Ḥimṣ in Syria.<sup>238</sup>

Dāwūd al-Kharibtāwī lived to a very old age (*mu'ammār*) so that his *isnād* was regarded as superior and was highly sought after, as he included in his *isnād* the earlier generations as well as the later ones, or as Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī puts it, "*wa-'āsha ḥattā alḥaqa al-aḥfād bi 'l-ajdād*," that is, he spanned three generations of active scholars. Az-Zabīdī himself met Dāwūd al-Kharibtāwī and received *al-ḥadīth al-musalsal bi 'l-awwaliyyah* from him together with his *ijāzah*.<sup>239</sup> He died in Egypt in Jumādā ath-Thānīyah 1170/February 1757.<sup>240</sup>

According to al-Bayṭār, his son, Muḥammad b. Dāwūd al-Kharibtāwī (d. 1207/1792), like his father, was also a learned scholar,



who in turn studied with, among others, Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī. He was later requested by az-Zabīdī to write a *taqrīz*, a brief statement highlighting the value of his multi-volume comprehensive dictionary, *Tāj al-‘Arūs min Jawāhir al-Qāmūs*. The requested magnificent *taqrīz* was actually dated 10 Rajab 1184/30 October 1770.<sup>241</sup>

A noted teacher of al-Falimbānī who was associated with Egypt was ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-‘Aydārūs (1135-93/1722-79).<sup>242</sup> According to two of his students, Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī and ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Jabartī, his full name is Wajīh ad-Dīn Abū al-Marāḥim as-Sayyid ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Muṣṭafā b. Shaykh b. Muṣṭafā al-‘Aydārūs al-Ḥusaynī at-Tarīmī al-Miṣrī ash-Shāfi‘ī an-Naqshabandī. He originated from Hadramawt in Yemen and was born in Tarīm at sunset on Tuesday, 9 Ṣafar 1135/19 November 1722. He later migrated to aṭ-Ṭā’if, and eventually to Egypt. His genealogy could be traced back to Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī <sup>raḍiyallāhu ‘anhumā</sup>, the maternal grandson of the Prophet SAW. He initially studied with his father and grandfather, who both gave him their *ijāzah* and invested him with the *Ṣūfī* cloak (*albasahu al-khirqah*). He mastered *fiqh* under the guidance of Wajīh ad-Dīn ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd Allāh Balfaqīh Bā-‘Alawī (d. 1163/1749) who also granted him his *ijāzah* for all the works he had transmitted (*marwiyyātih*).<sup>243</sup> ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān Balfaqīh had studied with leading scholars of his time such as the renowned Tarīm saint, ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alawī al-Ḥaddād (d. 1132/1719), and *al-Ḥaramayn* scholars such as ‘Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī, Aḥmad an-Nakhli, and Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī. It was from the latter he received his superior *isnād*.<sup>244</sup>

Accompanying his father, ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-‘Aydārūs had earlier travelled to India from Tarīm, first reaching Bandar ash-Shiḥr (a port city in South Yemen which functioned as a doorway for the interior of Hadramawt) in 1153/1740, meeting ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar al-Miḥḍār al-‘Aydārūs there, who transmitted to him the *dhikr* formula (*talqīn adh-dhikr*), investing him with the *Ṣūfī* cloak and granting both he and his father a general *ijāzah*. They continued to Bandar Sūrāt (City of Surat, India) where he joined his own brother ‘Abd Allāh al-Bāhir and visited his relatives and the local saints. They reached the City of Barūj on 15 Sha‘bān 1161/10 August 1748, where he met the Miḥḍār of India, as-Sayyid Aḥmad b. ash-Shaykh al-‘Aydārūs, thence went back to Sūrāt. His father travelled back to Tarīm, Yemen, while he stayed with his

brother 'Abd Allāh al-Bāhir and his uncle, Zayn al-'Ābidīn al-'Aydārūs. During his sojourn in India, he was also reported to have travelled to Jāwah, where several of his miracles (*karāmāt*) began to appear during his journey, and he then returned to Sūrāt and thence back to Yemen.<sup>245</sup>

'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-'Aydārūs travelled to Mecca to perform the *hajj* from Yemen, and later visited the Prophet's SAW tomb in Medina, where he also met and studied with Muḥammad Ḥayāt as-Sindī, Abū al-Ḥasan as-Sindī aṣ-Ṣaghīr, Ibrāhīm b. Fayḍ Allāh as-Sindī, Ja'far b. Muḥammad al-Bayṭī and Muḥammad ad-Dāghistānī (originally from Dagestan in the Caucasus). In Mecca, he studied with 'Umar b. Aḥmad as-Saqqāf, Muḥammad b. aṭ-Ṭayyib (d. 1170/1756), 'Abd Allāh b. Sahl, 'Abd Allāh b. Sulaymān Mājramī, Muḥammad Bā-Qushyār, and 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far b. 'Alawī Mad-hūr (d. 1160/1747), the latter was a student of 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥaddād. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-'Aydārūs then went to aṭ-Ṭā'if to visit the tomb of Ibn 'Abbās <sup>raḍiyallāhu</sup><sub>'anhumā</sub>, where he also studied with 'Abd Allāh Mīrghani.<sup>246</sup>

In 1158/1745, 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-'Aydārūs visited Egypt and studied with leading scholars of his time. Among them were: Aḥmad al-Mullawī, Aḥmad al-Jawharī, Muḥammad b. Sālīm al-Ḥifnī, the previously mentioned founder of the al-Khalwatiyyah al-Ḥifnāwiyyah *Ṣūfī* order in Egypt, and his brother Yūsuf al-Ḥifnī.<sup>247</sup> It is worth noting that according to Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, all four scholars also studied with al-'Aydārūs *tabarukkan* (seeking his blessing), which clearly indicates his esteemed rank in *Ṣūfīsm*. A year later, in 1159/1746, he travelled to Mecca with the Egyptian *hajj* caravan where he married his cousin, ash-Sharīfah 'Alawiyyah al-'Aydārūsiyyah, and resided at as-Salāmah in aṭ-Ṭā'if. He travelled to Egypt for the second time in 1162/1748 with the Egyptian *hajj* caravan and stayed for a year, then returned to aṭ-Ṭā'if. Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī relates that he himself met al-'Aydārūs in Mecca in 1163/1749. However, this was only for a short period as az-Zabīdī was travelling back to Yemen and al-'Aydārūs to aṭ-Ṭā'if. With the intention of meeting him, az-Zabīdī travelled again from Yemen in 1166/1752, first arriving at Mecca, and after performing the *hajj* headed to aṭ-Ṭā'if. He stayed in al-'Aydārūs's house in as-Salāmah and learned both the exoteric and esoteric Islamic sciences (*al-mantūq wa 'l-maḥmū min 'l-'ulūm*) for more than six months. Later, al-'Aydārūs invested him

with the *Ṣūfī* cloak and granted him *ijāzahs* for all his transmitted texts (*marwiyyāt*) and his *Ṣūfī ṭarīqah silsilahs*. He encouraged az-Zabīdī to travel to Egypt and described his own reception by the Egyptian ‘*ulamā*’, rulers (*al-umarā*’) and men of letters (*al-udabā*’), and their hospitality, as well as the presence of prominent saints (*al-awliyā*’ *al-a’lām*) during his visits. After performing the *ḥajj* in the following year, az-Zabīdī travelled to Egypt.<sup>248</sup>

In 1168/1754, al-‘Aydārūs arrived again in Egypt where he stayed for a year, and az-Zabīdī took this opportunity to “be as close to him as a patient to a physician,” as he puts it, “*lāzamtuhu mulāzamat al-marīḍ at-ṭabīb*.” In Mecca, al-‘Aydārūs married another woman relative ash-Sharīfah Ruqayyah al-‘Alawīyyah, the daughter of Sayyid Aḥmad b. Ḥasan Bā-Harūn in 1172/1758 and a year later, in 1173/1759 she gave birth to their son, Muṣṭafā. Eventually, in 1174/1760 he migrated with his family to Egypt, where he continued to reside for seventeen years until his death on Tuesday night, 12 Muḥarram 1192/10 February 1778. His funeral rites were held at al-Azhar and the funeral prayer was led by *Ṣūfī* Shaykh, Aḥmad ad-Dardīr (d. 1201/1787) with an overflow of mourners, and he was interred at Maqām al-‘Atrīs, near the Zaynab Shrine (*Mashhad as-Sayyidah Zaynab*).<sup>249</sup>

Al-‘Aydārūs also had travelled extensively in Palestine including Gaza, Nāblūs, and Jerusalem. The Damascene *muḥaddith* and renowned Ḥanafī scholar, Ibn ‘Ābidīn (d. 1252/1836) relates that al-‘Aydārūs arrived in Damascus in 1183/1769 where he stayed for two months with Ḥusayn al-Murādī (d. 1188/1774), the paternal uncle of the renowned biographer (author of *Salk ad-Durar*) Muḥammad Khalīl al-Murādī. He also visited Ottoman Anatolia (*ad-Diyār ar-Rūmiyyah*) in 1191/1777. In short, his extensive travels in India took him ten years, he performed the *ḥajj* seventeen times, and he made three journeys from al-Ḥijāz to Cairo, where he settled and undertook six visits to Upper Egypt (aṣ-Ṣa‘īd) and eight to Dimyāt – in lower Egypt.<sup>250</sup>

Al-‘Aydārūs had numerous works attributed to him. Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī provides sixty-two titles, Zabārah lists forty-three titles, and al-Baghdādī lists thirty-five of them.<sup>251</sup> His works dealt with virtually all branches of the Islamic religious disciplines; *ḥadīth*, *fiqh*, *tawḥīd*, and especially *taṣawwuf*, such as *Laṭā’if al-Jūd fī Mas’alat Waḥdat al-Wujūd*



(Niceties of Munificence on the Question of 'Oneness of Being'),<sup>252</sup> *Fayḍat an-Nafaḥāt fī Mas'alat aṣ-Ṣifāt*, on the Question of God's attributes,<sup>253</sup> *Sharḥ Ṣalāt Aḥmad al-Badawī*, an exposition of the prayers of the most popular *Ṣūfī* saint in Egypt, Aḥmad al-Badawī (d. 675/1276). He wrote two works on the Naqshabandiyyah *Ṣūfī ṭarīqah* entitled *Ithāf al-Khalīl* (Gift to Friends), and *an-Naḥḥat al-'Aydrūsīyyah fī 't-Ṭarīqat an-Naqshabandiyyah*.<sup>254</sup> In addition, Sayyid 'Uthmān al-Batāwī al-Jāwī listed two titles in his *isnād* work entitled *as-Silsilat an-Nabawiyyah*, attributed to al-'Aydarūs. They were, *Mir'āt ash-Shumūs [fī Silsilat al-Quṭb al-'Aydarūs]* and *'Iqd al-Jawāhir fī Faḍl Ahl Bayt an-Nabī aṭ-Ṭāhir*, both works on excellence (*faḍl*) of the family of the Prophet SAW, which appears to have been once widely read in the Malay Archipelago.<sup>255</sup>

From his extensive travels and his numerous works, it is clear that al-'Aydarūs's studies with many of the major teachers in the revivalist group in Mecca, Medina and Egypt were extensive. Apart from giving instructions in the exoteric (*ẓāhir*) sciences, he was also a leading scholar on the esoteric (*bāṭin*) sciences and was an active *Ṣūfī* scholar of the Naqshabandiyyah and 'Aydrūsīyyah Orders. His students included some of the leading figures in late eighteenth century neo-*Ṣūfism*, and he appears to have been an important link among those scholars. Through him, for example, one can see a connection between the great Naqshabandiyyah family in Syria, the Murādīs, and the Khalwatiyyah students of Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī in Egypt such as Muḥammad al-Ḥifnī and Muḥammad al-Amīr al-Kabīr.<sup>256</sup>

One of his most celebrated disciples was Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, who relates: "as the number of visitors from distant places requesting his *isnāds* on the *Ṣūfī ṭarīqahs* multiplied, while most of the time he was in the state of [spiritual] immersion, he instructed me to collect his *isnāds*."<sup>257</sup> I compiled a book consisting of ten fascicules in his name, which he called *an-Naḥḥat al-Quddūsīyyah bi-Wāsiṭat al-Bid'ah al-'Aydrūsīyah*. This was in 1171/1757. Numerous copies were made from this work, and the [spiritual] benefits from this were wide-spread." According to al-Kattānī, *an-Naḥḥat* is in ten booklets listing one hundred and seventy *Ṣūfī ṭarīqahs* together with their complete *isnāds*.<sup>258</sup>

It is important to remember that by the middle of the eighteenth century, some Arab scholars had gained prominent positions in the royal



court of Palembang and it was reported that in 1168/1754, a ‘certain Sayyid al-‘Aydarūs’ had married the sister of the Palembang ruler, Sulṭān Maḥmūd. Hence, several Sayyids (whose actual names are unknown to us) began to flock to the Sultanate and gain control of the religious hierarchy. Azra describes them as ‘senior priests’ and one of the Sayyids was even titled as ‘*Tuan Besar*’ (great lord).<sup>259</sup> Perhaps this is rather a simple equivalent of the Old Sayyid (*as-Sayyid al-Kabīr*).

One might be tempted to identify and link the ‘certain Sayyid al-‘Aydarūs’ to our scholar under discussion. This is because ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-‘Aydarūs was known to have been a wandering scholar of Yemen before finally settling in Egypt. We know that he had travelled to Jāwah from India during his extensive travels, which began in the year 1153/1740. Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī relates clearly that he travelled to the land of Jāwah during his sojourn in India (*wa-fī athnā’ dhālik rakiba ilā bilād Jāwah*).<sup>260</sup> Since his travels and sojourn in India took him ten years, his travel to Jāwah must have been approximately after 1163/1750. Unfortunately, there are no records of the exact date of his travel to Jāwah. Nevertheless, there is some probability that the ‘certain Sayyid al-‘Aydarūs’ might be our ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-‘Aydarūs, especially since he was known to be an eminent scholar in addition to his saintly ability when *karāmāt* began to appear during his journey to Jāwah.<sup>261</sup>

On the other hand, there is also a probability that this ‘certain Sayyid al-‘Aydarūs’ was another scholar who comes from the same al-‘Aydarūs family. According to al-Fādānī, among the scholars of Palembang in the eighteenth century with whom Nawawī al-Bantanī read Ibn Abī Jamrah’s (d. 695/1295 or 699/1300) *Mukhtaṣar Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* was Maḥmūd b. Kinān al-Falimbānī, who in turn learned it from as-Sulṭān aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Badr ad-Dīn Maḥmūd b. as-Sulṭān Maṣṣūr b. as-Sulṭān ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān, who read it with *Shaykh al-Islām Qāḍī as-Salṭanah* as-Sayyid ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alawī b. Aḥmad al-‘Aydarūs al-Falimbānī, who in turn learned it in Mecca from ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Jād Allāh al-Bannānī al-Maghribī (d. 1198/1784),<sup>262</sup> who received it from Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ al-Mullawī, who received it from ‘Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī, and so forth to the author, Ibn Abī Jamrah.<sup>263</sup> Since he was appointed as the ‘Sultanate Judge’ (*Qāḍī as-Salṭanah*) in Palembang, it is highly probable that he was the ‘certain Sayyid al-‘Aydarūs’ who married the

sister of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, and was appointed to religious office. Thus, the intended al-ʿAydārūs must have been Sayyid ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥusayn al-ʿAydārūs and not our Sayyid ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān b. Muṣṭafā al-ʿAydārūs, unless there is some confusion in the genealogy. Nevertheless, since they come from the same al-ʿAydārūs family, they probably met each other during the latter's travel to *Jāwah*.

Our contemporary, ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥabshī points out that Muṣṭafā b. ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān al-ʿAydārūs (1173-99/1759-84) who was born in aṭ-Ṭāʾif and died in Egypt, compiled his father's biography in his *Faṭḥ al-Muḥaymin al-Quddūs fī Manāqib Sayyidinā ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān b. Muṣṭafā al-ʿAydārūs*.<sup>264</sup> (Perhaps, this work might provide further accounts on his travel to *Jāwah*. But, unfortunately, I have not been able to trace any copy of this work).

Although we do not have sufficient evidence to assess the influence of al-ʿAydārūs on ʿAbd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī, we know that among the works that ʿAbd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī read with him were al-Fākihī's (d. 972/1564) *al-Fawākih al-Janiyyah Sharḥ Mutammimat al-ʾAjrūmiyyah* and *Sharḥ Qaṭr an-Nadā*, both works on Arabic grammar, and al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm ad-Dīn* and *Minḥāj al-ʾĀbidīn*. With his *isnād*, al-Falimbānī also relates other works of al-Ghazālī, including *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah*, *Kitāb al-Arbaʿīn fī ʾl-Uṣūl*, *Jawāhir al-Qurʾān*, and others.<sup>265</sup> This is significant as al-Falimbānī soon developed an abiding interest in al-Ghazālī's works. Also important to note is that since al-ʿAydārūs was one of the leading scholars in esoteric sciences and *Ṣūfī tarīqahs*, al-Falimbānī must have benefited greatly from his instructions and works. This must have included complex *Ṣūfī* questions such as the *Ṣūfī* doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd*, particularly we know that al-ʿAydārūs wrote his *Laṭāʾif al-Jūd fī Masʾalat Waḥdat al-Wujūd* and *Fayḍat an-Nafaḥāt fī Masʾalat aṣ-Ṣifāt* to address such questions. Al-ʿAydārūs's journey to *Jāwah* is another significant dimension of his place as ʿAbd aṣ-Ṣamad's learning.

The next scholar in the list of al-Falimbānī's Egyptian teachers was Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī (1145-1205/1732-90).<sup>266</sup> Known variously as Abū al-Fayḍ, Abū al-Jūd, and Abū al-Waqt, as-Sayyid Muḥammad Murtaḍā b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd ar-Razzāq al-Ḥusaynī al-ʿAlawī al-Wāsiṭī al-Biljrāmī al-Hindī az-Zabīdī al-Miṣrī al-Qādirī

an-Naqshabandī, is more widely known as Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī. He was a leading Ḥanafī scholar, a great lexicographer, linguist, theologian, *Ṣūfī*, *muḥaddith*, a grandmaster in genealogy and biographies (*ansāb* and *rijāl*).<sup>267</sup> His extensive Dictionary (*Tāj al-‘Arūs*) may be considered the climax of Arabic classical Lexicography and is strong evidence of his magnificent scholarship.<sup>268</sup>

According to al-Qannūjī, az-Zabīdī’s ancestors originally came from Wāsiṭ in Iraq but he was born in Bilgram, a town about forty kilometres from Kannauj (presently in Uttar Pradesh, India) around 10 Muḥarram 1145/3 July 1732. Perhaps, he only stayed in India for a relatively short period, and then migrated to Zabīd, Yemen to study, and apparently, his sojourn in Zabīd was for quite some time from whence is derived his *nisbah*, az-Zabīdī. This, al-Qannūjī added, had somehow overshadowed the public knowledge that his place of birth was in Bilgram, India.<sup>269</sup>

Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī travelled extensively to al-Ḥijāz including Jeddah, Mecca, Medina and aṭ-Ṭā’if, and later arrived in Egypt on 9 Ṣafar 1167/5 December 1753, where he settled and became renowned in the Islamic world during his own lifetime. Kings and rulers from Turkey, al-Ḥijāz, India, Yemen, Syria, Iraq, Morocco, Sudan and Algiers corresponded with him, and people sent him presents and gifts from everywhere. He was admired and venerated greatly, to an extent that some people in North Africa (*ahl al-Maghrib*) believed that their *ḥajj* was incomplete if, on their way to Mecca, they did not visit and honour him in Egypt.<sup>270</sup>

As al-Kattānī notes in his *Faḥras*, “az-Zabīdī was peerless in his time and age. None after Ibn al-Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī and his students can match him in terms of his encyclopaedic knowledge of traditions and associated sciences, nor in fame or number of students.”<sup>271</sup>

Not only Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī had many students, but he also had originally studied with numerous teachers. Al-Qannūjī relates that he listed more than three hundred teachers in one of his *Barnāmij* [*ash-Shuyūkh*]. These included Indian scholars such as the *muḥaddith* Muḥammad Fākhir b. Yaḥyā al-Ilāh-Ābādī and *musnid al-waqt* (*isnād*-expert of his time), the famous Shāh Walī Allāh Aḥmad b. ‘Abd ar-Raḥīm ad-Dihlawī (1114-76/1703-62), whose teaching sessions he attended at his house in Delhi.<sup>272</sup> Walī Allāh ad-Dihlawī in turn studied with Munlā



Ilyās al-Kūrānī (1047-1138/1637-1726), who was a student of Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī.<sup>273</sup>

According to 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal, among the scholars with whom Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī studied in Zabīd were Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Maqbūl al-Ahdal and his contemporaries, such as 'Abd al-Khālīq b. Abī Bakr al-Mizjājī, and Muḥammad b. 'Alā' ad-Dīn al-Mizjājī, and those who studied with this generation, such as Sulaymān b. Yaḥyā al-Ahdal.<sup>274</sup> During his study in Zabīd in 1163/1749, Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī relates that he received *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* highly from Muḥammad b. 'Alā' ad-Dīn al-Mizjājī, who in turn received it by way of written *ijāzah* from Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī in 1100/1688.<sup>275</sup> It should be emphasised that the kinds of *ijāzah* are particularly significant in the context of contacts among scholars. In this way, for instance, Muḥammad al-Mizjājī (1102-80/1690-1766), who was born a year after al-Kūrānī's death in 1101/1689, received his written *ijāzah* given to his father 'Alā' ad-Dīn al-Mizjājī and all his children in 1100/1688, and hence was considered a valid transmitter from al-Kūrānī without actually meeting him in person.

Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī himself provides a list of his teachers in some of his works, particularly his *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ* (also known as *al-Mu'jam al-Kabīr*), in his *Alfiyyat as-Sanad* and in *al-Mu'jam aṣ-Ṣaghīr* (also known as *Barnāmij ash-Shuyūkh*). In this regard, al-Kattānī relates that he found a copy of the *al-Mu'jam al-Kabīr* in Medina from which he made a copy. He describes it as consisting of more than six hundred biographical notices of his teachers and students.<sup>276</sup> At this point, it is important to remember that nearly all of al-Falimbānī's teachers whom we have examined so far were also connected directly to Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī as either his teachers or his students.

The best known among his disciples were 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Barr al-Wanā'ī, Aḥmad b. 'Ubayd al-'Aṭṭār, Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī, Muḥammad ash-Shanawānī, 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Karīm b. 'Abd ar-Rasūl al-'Aṭṭār al-Makkī, 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān al-Ahdal and Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad ar-Ra'īs az-Zamzamī. As for al-Falimbānī, he read with Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī all his works including his celebrated dictionary, *Tāj al-'Arūs Sharḥ al-Qāmūs*, and his voluminous commentary on al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā'* entitled *Iḥāf as-Sādat al-Muttaqīn Sharḥ Iḥyā' 'Ulūm ad-Dīn*. In addition, he also learned from him other Islamic scholarly works such as 'Umar as-



Suhrawardī's (d. 632/1234) *ʿAwārif al-Maʿārif*, a venerable *Ṣūfī* classic and manual for daily study and practice, and all the works of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (d. 1206/1792), the founder of the so-called Wahhābī movement, including his *Kitāb at-Tawḥīd fī Ḥaq Allāh ʿalā ʾl-ʿAbīd*.<sup>277</sup>

In addition to his numerous teachers and students, and his intellectual distinction and personality, az-Zabīdī also wrote prolifically on *fiqh*, *ḥadīth*, *tafsīr*, Arabic, lexicography, *tawḥīd*, *taṣawwuf*, history, *ansāb* (genealogy), and *tarājim* (biographies) that he compared the number of his writings to a 'lumber of jasmine' as he puts it, "*muʿallaqātī hiyā min saqaṭ al-matāʾ mithl al-yāsamin*."<sup>278</sup> He is said to have written more than one hundred works, and his biographer even compares him to as-Suyūṭī, calling him the 'Suyūṭī of his time' (*Suyūṭī zamānih*).<sup>279</sup> In one of his *ijāzahs* to a student, Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī provided sixty-three titles, while al-Baghdādī listed forty-nine titles, and al-Jabartī listed forty-five of them.<sup>280</sup> Though he is primarily remembered today for his lexicographical work, *Tāj al-ʿArūs*, his genuine interest in *ḥadīth* scholarship is beyond doubt. On *ḥadīth* and *isnād* alone, al-Kattānī listed fifty-one titles that az-Zabīdī wrote.<sup>281</sup>

Furthermore, his *ḥadīth* erudition is reflected not just from these numerous titles, but also from the number of works he devoted to a particular category of *ḥadīth*. For instance, Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī relates that the first *riwāyah* of *ḥadīth* that he received from ʿUmar b. Aḥmad al-Makkī as-Saqqāf was *al-ḥadīth al-musalsal bi ʾl-awwaliyyah* when he met him in Medina on 23 Jumādā ath-Thāniyyah 1161/20 June 1748.<sup>282</sup> On this type of *ḥadīth* alone, az-Zabīdī is reported to have written four works, one of these was written specifically for his student, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Bukhārī al-Atharī (d. 1200/1785) and was completed on 10 Rabīʿ ath-Thānī 1193/26 April 1779.<sup>283</sup>

Perhaps his most acclaimed work is his dictionary entitled *Tāj al-ʿArūs*, which is based on Majd ad-Dīn al-Fayrūzābādī's (d. 818/1415) *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ* and a considerable expansion of it. Some have noted that al-Fayrūzābādī's was meant to be a reference for scholars. Az-Zabīdī expanded this into a multi-volume dictionary which is considered his magnum opus. It is worth noting that in his prologue he relates that he benefited greatly in the art of the Arabic discipline from his teacher, Muḥammad b. aṭ-Ṭayyib al-Fāsī al-Madanī (1110-70/1698-1756) whom

he regarded as his main authority (*'umdah*) in this field. He tells us that it took him fourteen years and two months to complete the *Tāj al-ʿArūs* in 1181/1767 and upon its completion, threw a large banquet and invited many students and scholars of the time who wrote their praise of this work.<sup>284</sup> Thus, by calculating backwards, Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī probably started this work in 1167/1753 at the age of twenty-two. This coincides with the date of his first arrival in Egypt, already mentioned earlier, on 9 Ṣafār 1167/5 December 1753. It is worth noting that apart from Arabic, he was proficient in Turkish, Persian and the language of al-Karj or al-Kurj (perhaps the language of the Georgian people). He passed away in Egypt during a plague epidemic on Sunday, Shaʿbān 1205/April 1790 and was buried at the Ruqayyah Shrine (*Mashhad as-Sayyidah Ruqayyah*) next to his first wife who had died in 1196/1781.

In addition to his *ḥadīth* expertise, Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī without doubt was also a *Ṣūfī* master. Apparently, in terms of his *ṭarīqah* affiliation, he followed the an-Naqshabandiyyah *Ṣūfī* Order that he probably had received from his aforementioned teacher, ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān al-ʿAydarūs. He authored at least four works pertaining to this Order. Other works on *Ṣūfism* that he wrote include *Tanzīl Saḥāʾib ad-Durr li-Qurrāʾ Hizb al-Baḥr*, a commentary on ash-Shādhilī's (d. 656/1258) famous *Litany of the Sea*, a unique litany made of Qurʾānic verses and supplications, *Jadhwat al-Qabas fī Huṣūl Natījat adh-Dhikr Baʿd Ḥifẓ an-Nafas*, perhaps on *Ṣūfī* breathing techniques while performing remembrance (*dhikr*), and *Sharḥ Ṣalawāt al-Quṭb ʿAbd as-Salām b. Mashīsh*, a commentary on the prayers and litanies by Ibn Mashīsh (d. 625/1228) of Fes.

The last scholar in the list of al-Falimbānī's Egyptian teachers<sup>285</sup> was Abū al-Ḥasan, also nicknamed Abū an-Nūr, ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Barr b. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ b. Muḥammad b. Abī al-Karshī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥalfāwī al-Ḥasanī al-Wanāʾī (or al-Wafāʾī) ash-Shāfiʾī al-Ashʿarī al-Khalwatī al-Azharī al-Miṣrī al-Makkī (d. 1211/1796), mentioned earlier as a student of Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī. His genealogy is traced back to Ḥasan b. ʿAlī <sup>radiyallāhu ʿanhumā</sup>, maternal grandson of the Prophet SAW. ʿAlī al-Wanāʾī was born in Cairo in 1170/1756 and towards the end of his life migrated to al-Ḥijāz where he later died in Medina.<sup>286</sup> Unfortunately, al-Falimbānī himself and al-Fādānī do not tell us where the former met and studied with al-Wanāʾī. However, looking at the date of al-Wanāʾī's move to Medina

around 1210/1795, it is unlikely that al-Falimbānī studied with him at that time as he himself was already at his apex of writing and teaching. Furthermore, al-Wanā'ī was one of Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī's close students, which makes it highly plausible that al-Falimbānī met him previously during his own study with az-Zabīdī in Egypt.

Obviously, from his full chain of names and *nisbah*, al-Wanā'ī followed the Shāfi'ī School of Islamic jurisprudence, the Ash'arite School of Islamic theology, and in Ṣūfism he followed the path of the Khalwatiyyah *Ṣūfī* Order. He was initiated into this Order by Aḥmad ad-Dardīr al-'Adawī (1127-1201/1715-86) in 1197/1783 who also granted him authorisation (*adhina lahu bi 't-talqīn*) to transmit the *dhikr* formula to novices. Ad-Dardīr was the disciple of al-Ḥifnī, who was a *khalīfah* of Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī in Egypt, Muḥammad b. Sālim in 1172/1758.<sup>287</sup>

Al-Wanā'ī was described as one of the Egyptian geniuses who unfortunately, only lived for about forty years. Al-Kattānī remarks: "had he lived longer, he would have surpassed and overshadowed many of his own teachers." Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī praised him as an exceptional student and handed him his commentary on al-Ghazālī's *al-Iḥyā'*, requesting him to examine it. He examined it closely and pointed out several mistakes that were then rectified by his teacher. He glittered with light and his knowledge dealing with the heart was well established."<sup>288</sup> Evidently, his talent was obvious even at an early age as he was reported to have authored books on *aqā'id* (creed), *ḥadīth*, *fiqh*, *taṣawwuf*, *farā'id* (rules of inheritance), grammar, rhetoric and logic which he began at the age of eighteen.<sup>289</sup>

In an *ijāzah* granted by Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī on 24 Shawwāl 1196/2 October 1782, 'Alī al-Wanā'ī relates that he attended one of his teaching sessions at his house in Suwayqat al-Lālā, Egypt, when he received the *ḥadīth al-awwaliyyah* all over again ('*awdan 'alā bad*'). In another *ijāzah*, he relates that he attended the teaching session of Aḥmad b. Aḥmad Jum'ah al-Bujayramī ash-Shāfi'ī (d. 1197/1782) in Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1196/November 1782.<sup>290</sup> Thus, we know he was still studying in Egypt until the late twelfth century A.H.

In addition to studying with Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, 'Alī al-Wanā'ī learned from such scholars as Muḥammad al-Ḥifnī, 'Isā b. Aḥmad al-Barāwī (d. 1182/1768), 'Aṭīyyah al-Ajhūrī (d. 1194/1780), Aḥmad



b. Jum‘ah al-Bujayramī, Muṣṭafā b. Raḥmat Allāh al-Ayyūbī (1135-1205/1722-90) better known as ar-Raḥmatī ad-Dimashqī, who attended as a child of eight ‘Abd al-Ghanī an-Nābulusī’s teaching sessions in the last years of his life, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad an-Numrusī, and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad ad-Dardīr al-‘Adawī. The oldest of his teachers from whom he inherited ‘superior *isnāds*’ (*al-isnād al-‘ālī*) was al-Mu‘ammar ‘Abd al-Qādir b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim al-Andalusī and later al-Miṣrī who had lived for one hundred and twenty eight years.<sup>291</sup>

Al-Wanā’ī had numerous students including his own peers such as the Medinese *muḥaddith* Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī (d. 1218/1803) with whom he exchanged *isnāds*, and scholars of the younger generation such as ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-Karīm b. ‘Abd ar-Rasūl al-‘Aṭṭār, Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ b. Ibrāhīm ar-Ra’īs az-Zamzamī, ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān al-Ahdal, ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Kuzbarī and Muḥammad b. ‘Aydārūs al-Ḥabshī. All received the *ḥadīth al-awwalīyyah* from him and were granted his general *ijāzah*.<sup>292</sup> In fact, he granted the scholars resident of Mecca his general *ijāzah* dated Thursday, 22 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1207/31 July 1793 and permitted those who were present on that day to narrate from him by way of this *ijāzah*.<sup>293</sup>

His Meccan student ‘Umar al-‘Aṭṭār, who regarded him as his authority (*‘umdaḥ*) relates that he arrived in Mecca in 1203/1788 and stayed there for three years. After his visit to the Prophet’s SAW tomb in Medina, he went back to Egypt and stayed for sometime when he finally received the prophetic instruction to return to Medina and was foretold of the glad tidings that he will die there. He immediately travelled to Mecca where he stayed and performed the pilgrimage, thence to Medina where he died on 21 Muḥarram 1211/27 July 1796 and was interred at al-Baqī‘ cemetery.<sup>294</sup>

According to al-Kattānī, al-Wanā’ī compiled the list of his teachers in two *thabats*, one large and one small, the latter, on narrations that he received specifically from his teacher Aḥmad b. Jum‘ah al-Bujayramī. The small *thabat*, he added, was discovered by Aḥmad Abū al-Khayr in India in 1325/1907 who pointed out that it contained al-Wanā’ī’s *ijāzah* written in his own handwriting granted to Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ ar-Ra’īs az-Zamzamī al-Makkī.<sup>295</sup>



Among al-Wanā'ī's works were his *thabat* entitled *al-Mawāhib as-Saniyyah fī 'l-Asānid al-Wanā'iyyah*, probably the above mentioned large *thabat*, *Mansik al-Wanā'ī*, apparently a work on the rules and rites of pilgrimage, *Kashf Niqāb Manhaj at-Tullāb*, a work on *fiqh*, *ad-Dalālāt al-Mu'tabarāh bi-Sharḥ al-'Aqīdah al-Musammāt bi 'l-Jawharah*, and *Imdād Jāmi' al-Ḥaqā'iq bi-Sharḥ al-Mawrid ar-Rā'iq*, both on *tawḥīd*, *Durrat as-Sālikīn fī Riḍā' Rabb al-Ālamīn*, and *Najāt ar-Rūḥ wa-Kanz al-Futūḥ*, both works, as noted by 'Aydārūs al-Ḥabshī, were significant works on Ṣūfism, and a work on asceticism entitled *az-Zahrat al-'Ulyā fī 't-Taḥdhīr min Matā' al-Ḥayāt ad-Dunyā*, completed in 1201/1786.<sup>296</sup>

Al-Falimbānī possibly had met and studied with 'Alī al-Wanā'ī during his travel to Egypt. However, he also indicated that he studied with him in Mecca probably during his three year stay in Mecca from 1203/1788 and just before al-Falimbānī left for Zabīd in 1206/1791.<sup>297</sup> Among the religious works that al-Falimbānī learned from him were Abū al-Qāsim al-Qushayrī's (d. 465/1072) *ar-Risālah al-Qushayriyyah*, the celebrated *Ṣūfī* manual, Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī's (d. 926/1520) *Lubb al-Uṣūl*, and its commentary, *Ghāyat al-Wuṣūl*, both works on principles of jurisprudence (*uṣūl al-fiqh*), all the works of Ibn 'Abd as-Salām (d. 660/1261) including his *al-Qawā'id al-Kubrā* on *fiqh*, and Ibn Abī ad-Dunyā's (d. 281/894) *Kitāb ash-Shukr* on *ḥadīth*.<sup>298</sup>

## Damascus

Based on the list of the Damascene scholars with whom al-Falimbānī came into contact, and al-Fādānī's report that he studied with them in Damascus, it is plausible that he must have taken the opportunity to travel northward to Syria through Palestine during his period of sojourn in Egypt. The strongest evidence that shows al-Falimbānī travelled to Damascus was related by al-Fādānī when he says, "*wa-rawā 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad ayḍan ... bi-Dimashq 'an Muḥammad b. Sālim as-Saffārīnī, wa-Aḥmad b. 'Ubayd al-'Aṭṭār*," thus pointing out he studied with them in Damascus.<sup>299</sup> From various sources, I was able to trace another two Syrian teachers of al-Falimbānī in addition to Aḥmad al-'Aṭṭār and Muḥammad as-Saffārīnī. They are Muḥammad al-'Aqīlī and 'Umar al-Armanāzī. Thus, it is important to examine the biographies of these

four teachers, as they further show us the connections 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī had with Syrian scholars.

Shihāb ad-Dīn Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Ubayd b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Askar b. Aḥmad al-Ḥimṣī al-'Aṭṭār ad-Dimashqī (1138-1218/1725-1803) was an important scholar from the al-'Aṭṭār family whose primary renown was as the *muḥaddith* of Syria during his time.<sup>300</sup> His ancestors originated from Ḥimṣ (Homs), between Damascus and Ḥamāh. His genealogy is traced back to the Prophet SAW. He was born in Damascus and he died in that city.<sup>301</sup> Al-Bayṭār referred to him as Aḥmad b. 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Askar al-'Aṭṭār, omitting his grandfather 'Abd Allāh and giving his father's name as 'Ubayd Allāh. However, a copy of Aḥmad al-'Aṭṭār's own *ijāzah* endorsed in his own handwriting and another *ijāzah* given to him by Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī clearly indicate that his father and grandfather were 'Ubayd and 'Abd Allāh respectively.<sup>302</sup>

In an unpublished manuscript copy of his *Thabat al-'Aṭṭār*, perhaps inscribed by one of his students, Muḥammad Anīs in 1265/1848, Aḥmad al-'Aṭṭār listed sixteen of his Damascene teachers, a further three teachers who were visiting scholars in Damascus, and eight scholars whom he corresponded with and obtained their general *ijāzah*. He also provides titles of various books of Islamic disciplines which he has studied along with the *isnāds* to each of them.<sup>303</sup>

Among al-'Aṭṭār's Damascene teachers listed in the *Thabat* are 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Kuzbarī (d. 1165/1752), Abū al-Ma'ālī Muḥammad b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ghazzī (1096-1167/1685-1753), Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad al-'Ajlūnī (d. 1162/1748), Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Manīnī (1089-1172/1678-1759), Ilyās b. Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (d. 1138/1726), Aḥmad al-Ba'ī and others. All of them were students of the renowned Ḥanafī *Ṣūfī* shaykh, 'Abd al-Ghanī b. Ismā'īl an-Nābulusī (d. 1143/1731).<sup>304</sup>

In addition to studying with Syrian scholars, Aḥmad al-'Aṭṭār studied with visiting scholars to Damascus such as the above-mentioned *Ṣūfī* and *muftī* of Medina, Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī, and two Palestinians, the *muftī* of al-Quds (Jerusalem), Muḥammad b. Muḥammad at-Tāfillātī (d. 1191/1777), and Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Bukhārī al-Khalīlī (d. 1200/1785) from Hebron. All three also granted him *ijāzahs*.

Furthermore, al-'Aṭṭār corresponded with a number of scholars of al-Ḥijāz and Egypt requesting their general *ijāzahs* to transmit their works.

They include, from al-Ḥijāz, Ja‘far b. Ḥasan al-Barzanjī (d. 1177/1763), the famous author of *al-Mawlid*, and ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Fattānī aṭ-Ṭā’ifī; and Egyptian scholars such as Aḥmad al-Mullawī, Aḥmad al-Jawharī, the two brothers, Yūsuf (d. 1176/1763) and Muḥammad (d. 1181/1767) sons of Sālim al-Ḥifnī, ‘Aṭīyyat Allāh al-Ajhūrī (d. 1194/1780) and Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī.<sup>305</sup>

His list of teachers was later compiled by one of his closest students ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Kuzbarī (d. 1262/1846) in his work entitled *Intikhāb al-‘Awālī wa ‘sh-Shuyūkh al-Akhyār min Fahāris Shaykhinā al-Imām al-Musnid al-‘Aṭṭār*, which was completed in Sha‘bān 1207/March 1793 and later endorsed by al-‘Aṭṭār himself.<sup>306</sup> Another student, Ibn ‘Ābidīn relates that al-‘Aṭṭār performed the *ḥajj* four times, in 1176/1762, 1196/1781, 1203/1789 and 1207/1792, and travelled to Egypt and Turkish Anatolia (*Bilād ar-Rūm*).<sup>307</sup>

It is clear that apart from his visits to *al-Ḥaramayn* for the *ḥajj*, Aḥmad al-‘Aṭṭār stayed for a while to establish contact with prominent scholars there as well as to teach. During his third visit to Mecca in Ramaḍān 1203/May 1789, he was requested by the Meccan *muḥaddith* ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-Karīm al-‘Aṭṭār<sup>308</sup> al-Makkī to give lectures on *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* in al-Masjid al-Ḥarām. Aḥmad al-‘Aṭṭār then granted ‘Umar his *ijāzah* for the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* and all his narrations (*marwīyyātih*) and transmitted to him *al-ḥadīth al-musalsal bi ‘l-awwaliyyah*.<sup>309</sup> It is important to point out that ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī is unlikely to have met Aḥmad al-‘Aṭṭār in Mecca during this particular visit as he was busied with completing the final volume of his *Sayr as-Sālikīn* in aṭ-Ṭā’if during Ramaḍān 1203/May 1789.<sup>310</sup> As for al-‘Aṭṭār’s fourth visit in 1207/1792, by that time al-Falimbānī had already left for Zabīd in 1206/1791. Therefore, al-Falimbānī must have met al-‘Aṭṭār in Damascus earlier, perhaps in the early 1170’s/1750’s. As we will see shortly, his second Damascene teacher, as-Saffārīnī died in 1188/1774, and we know that from the dates of his works, al-Falimbānī was already in *al-Ḥaramayn* from 1178/1765 onwards, actively writing and teaching in Mecca.

Upon Aḥmad al-‘Aṭṭār’s request, his contemporary Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī sent him an *ijāzah* from Egypt, dated Saturday, 28 Rajab 1203/24 May 1789. Later during his visit to Egypt, al-‘Aṭṭār received the general



*ijāzah* directly from Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī who also instructed him in 'the mystical formula' and invested him with his *Ṣūfī* cloak, as al-ʿAṭṭār himself explains, "*faqad ajāzanī al-ijāzat al-ʿāmmah wa-laqqananī adh-dhikr al-khafī wa-albasanī khirqatahu.*"<sup>311</sup>

Regarding al-ʿAṭṭār's position in Damascus, ash-Shaṭṭī relates that the scholarly and *Ṣūfī* leadership (*mashyakhah*) of Damascus at the turn of the thirteenth century A.H. was exemplified by Aḥmad al-ʿAṭṭār who was its shining star (*shihābuhā*) and Muḥammad al-Kuzbarī who was its sun (*shamsuhā*); they were twins in 'ilm and foster-brothers in piety. Al-ʿAṭṭār was born in 1138/1725 and died in 1218/1803 at the age of eighty, while al-Kuzbarī was born in 1140/1727 and died in 1221/1806 at the age of eighty-one, and both shared the same teachers. It also happened that their sons' Ḥāmid al-ʿAṭṭār and 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Kuzbarī were almost exact contemporaries and close colleagues. The former was born in 1186/1772 and the latter in 1184/1770, and both were leading scholars of Syria like their respective fathers. They went on *ḥajj* together in 1263/1846, the latter died on his outward journey in Mecca, while the former died in al-Qaṭrānah (in modern south Jordan) during his return journey.<sup>312</sup>

Aḥmad al-ʿAṭṭār was also reported to have played an important role against the French occupation in Egypt. When the French occupied Egypt and marched on the coastal area of Palestine and reached Ṣafād (modern Safed) and Nablus in 1214/1799, he set out to gather the people of Damascus for resistance and called for *jihād*. He incited them to go to *jihād* and explained to them the merit and reward of such action. He joined the army front line and marched towards the enemy willing to sacrifice his possessions, children and himself. He later died in Damascus on 9 Rabīʿ al-Ākhir 1218/28 July 1803.<sup>313</sup> It is important to note that al-Falimbānī who himself was al-ʿAṭṭār's student, at the end of his life, was reported to have been involved in the *jihād* against the Thai occupation of Kedah. Perhaps, this involvement was partly influenced by the example of his teacher Aḥmad al-ʿAṭṭār.

Among the Islamic religious works that al-Falimbānī read with and learned from Aḥmad al-ʿAṭṭār was his teacher Ismāʿīl al-ʿAjlūnī's (d. 1162/1748) *ʿIqd al-Jawhar ath-Thamīn [fī Arbaʿīn Ḥadīthan min Aḥādīth Sayyid al-Mursalīn]*. With this *isnād* from al-ʿAṭṭār, al-Falimbānī relates



the rest of al-‘Ajlūnī’s works.<sup>314</sup> However, al-‘Aṭṭār himself was not a prolific author as all his biographers including al-Kattānī, al-Bayṭār, az-Ziriklī and Kaḥḥālāh only credit him with one work, namely his *Thabat*. This is perhaps why al-Fādānī only listed one *isnād* linking al-‘Ajlūnī’s works to al-Falimbānī through al-‘Aṭṭār.

The second Damascene teacher of al-Falimbānī, Shams ad-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh (also Abū al-‘Awn) Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Sālīm b. Sulaymān as-Saffārīnī an-Nābulusī al-Ḥanbalī al-Atharī al-Qādirī (d. 1188/1774), was a leading traditionist and a Ḥanbalī *faqīh* and a profound writer on various issues.<sup>315</sup> He was born and raised in Saffārīn, a village near Nablus, Palestine in 1114/1702, where he learned the Qur’ān and studied other Islamic sciences in Nablus in 1131/1718.<sup>316</sup>

Muḥammad as-Saffārīnī then travelled to Damascus in 1133/1720 where he sojourned for five years and studied under such scholars as ‘Abd al-Qādir b. ‘Umar al-Qādirī at-Taghlibī al-Ḥanbalī (d. 1135/1722) who granted him *ijāzah* dated 1135/1722 just before the latter died, ‘Abd al-Ghanī an-Nābulusī aṣ-Ṣūfī al-Ḥanafī (d. 1143/1731) with whom he studied among others, his Qur’ānic exegesis according to Ṣūfism, and who later granted him his *ijāzah* dated 1138/1725, ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Mujallid al-Ḥanafī (d. 1140/1727) who also granted him *ijāzah*, Ilyās al-Kurdī al-Kūrānī (d. 1138/1725) with whom he studied the rational sciences (*kutub al-ma‘qūl*), Ismā‘īl al-‘Ajlūnī (d. 1162/1748), Muṣṭafā b. Kamāl ad-Dīn al-Bakrī (d. 1162/1748), and others.<sup>317</sup>

As one can see in as-Saffārīnī’s own work, *Thabat al-Imām as-Saffārīnī*, his education was thorough. He studied many sciences, including *ḥadīth*, *fiqh*, *tafsīr*, sciences of the Arabic language, *sīrah* and *taṣawwuf*. In the *Thabat*, he devotes long pages to providing a list of his teachers and the titles of *ḥadīth* books he has studied, along with the *isnāds* to each of them. He goes on to mention books in other fields. As for *taṣawwuf*, he studied books written by such famous *Ṣūfīs* as al-Qushayrī, al-Ghazālī, al-Jīlānī, ash-Sha‘rānī and the poet, al-Būṣīrī.

It is of particular importance that, in the *Thabat*, as-Saffārīnī also gives an account of several examples of *al-ḥadīth al-musalsal*, each with its own peculiarity. For instance, he tells us that he transmitted a *ḥadīth* narrated by Imām Muslim in his *aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ* with continuous chains of Damascene scholars (*al-ḥadīth al-musalsal bi ‘d-Dimashqiyyīn*). He

received it from his Damascene teachers, 'Abd al-Qādir at-Taghlibī in 1135/1722, 'Abd al-Ghanī an-Nābulusī, and 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Mujallid, all three received it from their teacher, 'Abd al-Baqī ad-Dimashqī, and so forth to the companion Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī <sup>radīyallāhu 'anhu</sup> who himself had entered Damascus. Other *musalsals* also included *al-ḥadīth al-musalsal bi 'l-Ḥanbaliyyah* (continuous chains with Ḥanbalī scholars), *al-ḥadīth al-musalsal bi 'l-Muḥammadīn* (continuous chains with scholars named Muḥammad), and *al-ḥadīth al-musalsal bi 'l-Ḥanafīyyah* (continuous chains with Ḥanafī scholars).<sup>318</sup> Muḥammad as-Saffārīnī also points out that 'Abd al-Ghanī an-Nābulusī granted him *ijāzah* for all his works, which come up to more than three hundred works on virtually every aspect of the Islamic disciplines.<sup>319</sup>

During his *ḥajj* in 1148/1735, as-Saffārīnī took the opportunity to study with Muḥammad Ḥayāt as-Sindī in Medina where he received *ḥadīth* instruction through *samā'* by attending his teaching sessions, in particular *al-ḥadīth al-musalsal bi 'l-awwaliyyah* and the opening chapters of the six canonical *ḥadīth* books (*awā'il al-kutub as-sittah*). At the same time, he also studied with Muḥammad ad-Daqqāq al-Maghribī (d. 1158/1745 in Medina).<sup>320</sup> Presumably, he had also travelled to al-Ḥijāz earlier, prior to the death of Aḥmad an-Nakhlī (d. 1130/1717) and 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī (d. 1134/1722) as he included both as his teachers.<sup>321</sup>

After having acquired a strong grounding in various sciences, as-Saffārīnī returned to his village, Saffārīn, and after a short stay, left for Nablus to reside therein. He is described by his students as having a dignified character with an awe-inspiring personality who would frequently busy himself with providing guidance and instruction to his students especially in the science of *ḥadīth*, and who regularly prayed the supererogatory night prayers (*qiyām al-layl*) in the mosque, encouraging others to do the same. Beginning from 1148/1735, he devoted his life to benefit others with his knowledge and courage, commanding the good and forbidding the evil until the end of his life. He died in Nablus on Monday, 8 Shawwāl 1188/12 December 1774 and was buried at az-Zārākiyyah cemetery.<sup>322</sup>

As-Saffārīnī had numerous students in Damascus who included among others, Muḥammad Shākir al-'Aqqād, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Bukhārī al-Khalīlī and Muṣṭafā b. Sa'd ar-Ruḥaybānī as-Suyūṭī ad-

Dimashqī (1164-1243/1750-1827). Not only was he famous in Syria (*ash-Shām*) but several distant scholars corresponded with him requesting his *ijāzah*. They include, from Egypt, Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī who received his *ijāzah* written and sent from Nablus in 1179/1765, from Medina, ‘Abd al-Qādir b. Khalīl al-Madanī better known as Kadak Zādah, and from Yemen, Sulaymān b. Yaḥyā al-Ahdal and ‘Abd al-Khāliq b. ‘Alī al-Mizjājī.<sup>323</sup>

As-Saffārīnī was known for his ascetic (*zuhd*) qualities, such that he would hardly hoard anything of the world except books, for he was an enthusiastic book collector. That is reflected in his writings that are usually crammed full of quotes from various works. He authored many books, and wrote poems on various issues. His works include *ad-Durrat al-Muḍiyyah fī ‘Iqd al-Firḡat al-Marḍiyyah*, his commentary on this entitled *Lawāmi‘ al-Anwār al-Bahiyyah wa-Sawāfi‘ al-Āthār al-Athariyyah*, *Kashf al-Lithām* a commentary on ‘Abd al-Ghanī al-Maqdisī’s *Umdat al-Aḥkām*, and *Sharḥ Thulāthiyāt Musnad al-Imām Aḥmad*, a commentary on Imām Aḥmad’s *‘thulāthiyat’* which refers to those narrations of Imām Aḥmad that only have three narrators between himself and the Prophet SAW. Such chains are the shortest chains of Imām Aḥmad, and of course, as we have already learned, the shorter the chain, the stronger the *ḥadīth*.<sup>324</sup>

‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī studied all as-Saffārīnī’s works, in particular his *ad-Durrat al-Muḍiyyah*, its commentary, *Lawāmi‘ al-Anwār al-Bahiyyah*, and also studied with him at-Taftāzānī’s (d. 791/1389) exposition of az-Zanjānī’s (d. 655/1257) *Taṣrīf* on Arabic grammar and syntax.<sup>325</sup>

The third Damascene teacher of al-Falimbānī was Sirāj ad-Dīn Abū Ḥaṣṣ ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Armanāzī al-Ḥalabī ash-Shāfi‘ī (1105-48/1693-1735).<sup>326</sup> His ancestors originated from Armanāz, a small town located in the district of Idlib, northwest Syria, near the modern Syrian-Turkish border, while he himself was born and died in Ḥalab (Aleppo).<sup>327</sup>

According to al-Murādī, ‘Umar al-Armanāzī was a distinguished *muqri‘* (reciter of the Qur’ān), *faraḍī* (an expert on the Islamic laws of inheritance), *‘ālim* (savant), *‘āmil* (practicing scholar), *fāḍil* (noble), *kāmil* (perfect) and a leading expert in writing legal documents (*ra’san fī*



*kitābat al-wathā'iq ash-shar'īyyah*). He was raised by his father who was a pious, righteous man and the *imām* and *khatīb* of al-Qaṣṭal al-Ḥarāmī Mosque in Ḥalab, from whom he learned the Qur'ān. He then studied grammar, jurisprudence and Islamic rules of inheritance under Jābir b. Aḥmad al-Ḥawrānī and 'Abd al-Laṭīf b. 'Abd al-Qādir az-Zawā'idī and became proficient in these subjects. With Muṣṭafā b. Maṣṣūr at-Ṭayyib he advanced in *'ilm al-miqāt* (science of timekeeping through astrology) and studied *ḥadīth* with the visiting Meccan *muḥaddith*, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn 'Aqīlah (d. 1150/1737) upon the latter's arrival in Ḥalab. He also studied Arabic linguistic sciences including syntax, *al-ma'ānī* (the science of meanings), *al-bayān* (rhetoric) and the principles of grammar with several other scholars.<sup>328</sup>

Towards the end of his life, al-Armanāzī memorised the whole Qur'ān and the text of *ash-Shāṭibīyyah*, the metrical treatise on the various readings and orthography of the Qur'ān under the guidance of Muḥammad b. Muṣṭafā al-Baṣīrī. He would frequently busy himself with teaching the science of Qur'anic recitation (*Qirā'at*), one of the many subjects he had mastered. Later, al-Armanāzī wrote a compendious commentary on ash-Shāṭibī's (d. 590/1194) *Qirā'at Sab'ah wa-'Asharah* (seven and ten recital traditions) entitled *al-Ishārāt al-'Umariyah fī Ḥallī Rumūz ash-Shāṭibīyah*. However, he died before completing it, and it was later completed by 'Umar b. Shāhīn.<sup>329</sup>

From al-Falimbānī's *isnāds*, it appears that the only text that he received from al-Armanāzī was Yāsīn al-Ḥimṣī's (d. 1061/1650) *Ḥāshiyah* on al-Fākihī's (d. 972/1564) *Sharḥ Qaṭr an-Nadā*, a work on Arabic grammar.<sup>330</sup> However, taking into account the year of death of al-Armanāzī (Sha'bān 1148/December 1735), it is very unlikely that al-Falimbānī had travelled to Syria at such early period, otherwise he would have met with its earlier generations of scholars. In addition, I have pointed out earlier that he was studying in Zabīd from 1147/1734 onwards. Perhaps, he might have met him in Yemen; however, unfortunately his biographer does not provide us with any account of his travels outside Ḥalab. Presumably, al-Falimbānī had included him among his Syrian teachers by way of *murāsalah* (correspondence) or *ijāzah*. The latter seems to be more plausible, as al-Fādānī points out that one Yemeni scholar had transmitted the works of ash-Shāṭibī from 'Abd ar-Raḥmān



al-Ahdal, who in turn received it from ‘Umar al-Armanāzī.<sup>331</sup> However, again, on examining the year of birth of al-Ahdal (1179/1765) it is impossible that these two scholars had met and apparently al-Fādānī must have forgotten to include the intermediaries between them. Nevertheless, at this point, it suffices to say that either by direct attendance or more likely by way of *ijāzah*, ‘Umar al-Armanāzī was one of al-Falimbānī’s Syrian teachers.

The last scholar in the list of al-Falimbānī’s Syrian teachers was Shams ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abū al-Faḍl ‘Uthmān b. ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān b. ‘Uthmān b. ‘Abd ar-Razzāq al-‘Aqīlī<sup>332</sup> al-Baṭā’ihī al-Ḥalabī al-‘Umarī ash-Shāfi‘ī (1163-1245/1749-1829).

Al-Bayṭār describes Muḥammad al-‘Aqīlī as *al-‘ālim*, *al-faqīh*, *al-fāḍil*, *ad-dayyin* (religionist), *aṣ-ṣālīh* (righteous), *al-warī‘* (pious), *az-zāhid* (ascetic), *al-‘ābid* (worshipper). He was born and raised in Ḥalab. He memorised the Qur’ān and the text of *ash-Shāṭibiyyah* under the guidance of his father and mentor, who himself had memorised them at the age of twelve.<sup>333</sup> He received *ijāzah* from a group of *muḥaddiths*. They include scholars such as ‘Aṭā’ Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Makkī, Aḥmad b. ‘Ubayd al-‘Aṭṭār, Maṣṣūr b. Muṣṭafā as-Saramīnī al-Ḥalabī, ‘Abd al-Karīm b. Aḥmad ash-Sharābātī al-Ḥalabī (1106-78/1694-1764), and others.<sup>334</sup> Ash-Sharābātī himself in turn learned from scholars such as ‘Abd al-Ghanī an-Nābulusī, ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Taghlibī, Ilyās al-Kurdī, and ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Mujallid, and during *hajj* in 1123/1711, ash-Sharābātī studied with al-Baṣrī, an-Nakhli and Abū Ṭahir al-Kūrānī, and in 1143/1730 studied with Muḥammad Ḥayāt as-Sindī and Muḥammad ad-Daqqāq.<sup>335</sup>

It is worth noting that Muḥammad al-‘Aqīlī’s father, ‘Uthmān (1135-93/1722-79), during his *hajj* in 1176/1762 took the opportunity to study with *al-Ḥaramayn* scholars. They include Muḥammad as-Sammān from whom he learned *ḥadīth* and received the initiation into the Qādiriyyah *Ṣūfī* order, Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Madanī, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Maghribī, Abū al-Ḥasan as-Sindī aṣ-Ṣaghīr and ‘Aṭā’ Allāh al-Makkī.<sup>336</sup> According to al-Kattānī, his brother, ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-‘Aqīlī was also a renowned Syrian scholar. Both Muḥammad and ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān studied with their father ‘Uthmān al-‘Aqīlī, who in turn studied with Ṭaha al-Jibrīnī al-Ḥalabī, who was a student of ‘Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī.<sup>337</sup>

Apart from his father and the group of *muḥaddiths*, in 1205/1790 Muḥammad al-‘Aqīlī met and studied with his contemporary, the historian and the *muftī* of Damascus, Khalīl al-Murādī. The latter is chiefly known for his *Salk ad-Durar*, a biographical dictionary on the twelfth/eighteenth century notables, and with whom he exchanged *isnāds*.<sup>338</sup>

According to al-Fādānī, ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī learned *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* from Muḥammad b. ‘Uthmān al-‘Aqīlī al-Ḥalabī, who in turn had learned it from Muḥammad Khalīl b. ‘Alī al-Murādī, who in turn received it from Muḥammad b. Faḍl Allāh al-Muḥibbī ad-Dimashqī, and so forth up to Imām Muslim.<sup>339</sup> However, if we examine the year al-‘Aqīlī met al-Murādī (1205/1790), it is obvious that al-Falimbānī must have met him after that year to be able to include al-Murādī in his *isnād*.

Finally, as I have already mentioned in passing, it is worth noting that according to Azra’s research on ‘Muḥammad Murād’ who was listed among al-Falimbānī’s teachers, had wrongly identified as Muḥammad Khalīl al-Murādī (1173-1206/1760-91).<sup>340</sup> He argues that despite living mainly in Damascus, al-Murādī travelled extensively including to *al-Ḥaramayn*, collecting information on the scholars he would write about in his biographical dictionary, *Salk ad-Durar*,<sup>341</sup> thus making it highly probable that al-Falimbānī took the opportunity of al-Murādī’s visits to *al-Ḥaramayn* to study with him.<sup>342</sup>

However, even though the two were contemporaries, his aforementioned *isnād* clearly eliminates the possibility of al-Falimbānī studying directly with al-Murādī. In other words, he would have excluded Muḥammad al-‘Aqīlī from this *isnād* if he had studied directly with al-Murādī and hence have *al-isnād al-‘ālī* with fewer intermediaries between him and Imām Muslim. Besides, I have demonstrated above that the Muḥammad Murād with whom al-Falimbānī studied was in fact Muḥammad Murād al-Anṣārī as-Sindī. If al-Falimbānī had scholarly links with al-Murādī, this would have to have been indirectly through at least two of his teachers, the Syrian Muḥammad b. ‘Uthmān al-‘Aqīlī, and the Egyptian Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, who were both al-Murādī’s direct students.<sup>343</sup>

## Northwest Africa (Maghrib)

The only Northwest African (*Maghribī*) scholar whom I was able to find to have had contacts with ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī was Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Hilālī (d. 1175/1761).<sup>344</sup> According to al-Kattānī, Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Rashīd b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. ‘Alī b. Maḥmad (with *fatḥ*) b. Muḥammad b. Imām Bāz an-Nawāzil Abī Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Hilāl al-Hilālī as-Sijilmāsī al-Mālikī, better known as Aḥmad al-Hilālī, was born in 1113/1703 in Sijilmasa, an oasis town and medieval trade centre in western Maghrib, southeast of Fes. He was an ‘*ālim* and a poet who also had facility in some of the Islamic sciences (*mushārik fī ba‘ḍ al-‘ulūm*).<sup>345</sup>

In his quest for ‘*ilm*, apart from studying in his homeland with Aḥmad al-Ḥabīb aṣ-Ṣiddīqī as-Sijilmāsī, whom he regarded as his authority (‘*umdaḥ*), and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Fāsī (d. 1164/1750), Aḥmad al-Hilālī also travelled to Egypt and al-Ḥijāz. During his travels, he met and studied with prominent scholars such as ‘Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī, Aḥmad al-Mullawī, Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī, Muḥammad al-Ḥifnī and Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-‘Ujaymī (d. 1156/1743). The latter, in turn, studied with his father Ḥasan al-‘Ujaymī.<sup>346</sup> As the title of one of his works suggests, it is very likely that al-Hilālī recorded the account of his travels in his *ar-Riḥlah al-Makiyyah*.<sup>347</sup> (Perhaps, this *ar-Riḥlah* might provide us with more details on his travels to Mecca). He then returned to Sijilmasa where he became one of the leading scholars in Maghrib, and later died in his hometown on 12 Rabī‘ al-Awwal 1175/11 October 1761.<sup>348</sup>

Evidently, al-Hilālī was also a leading *faqīh* of the Mālikī School of Islamic jurisprudence. On *fiqh*, he wrote a commentary on the *Mukhtaṣar Khalīl* by Khalīl b. Ishāq b. Mūsā b. Shu‘ayb al-Jundī (d. 767/1365) entitled *Iḥāf al-Muqtanī‘ bi ‘l-Qalīl fī Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar Khalīl*,<sup>349</sup> and *al-Marāḥim fī Aḥkām Fasād ad-Darāḥim*. His other works include a poem on invocation entitled *Sharḥ aṣ-Ṣadr fī ‘t-Tawassul bi-Ahl Badr*, and *Dīwān Shi‘ir*, a collection of his poems,<sup>350</sup> *az-Zawāhir al-Ufuqiyyah ‘alā al-Jawāhir al-Manṭiqiyyah*, a commentary in verse on logic, and three *thabat* works listing his teachers and the works he received from them together with his *isnāds*. In this regard, al-Kattānī described his smallest



*thabat* entitled *al-‘Ujālah* as consisting of four pages with his *isnād* on *ḥadīth al-awwaliyyah*, *al-muṣāfaḥah* (handclasp), *al-mushābakah*, *al-musalsal bi ‘l-maḥabbah*, *Thulāthiāt al-Bukhārī*, and *Dalā‘il al-Khayrāt*.<sup>351</sup> Apart from the *al-‘Ujālah*, according to al-Mar‘ashlī, he also compiled a larger *thabat* entitled *Asānīd Abī al-‘Abbās al-Hilālī* in two volumes, and a medium *thabat* entitled *Fahrāsāt al-Hilālī*, a summarised version of the *Asānīd*.<sup>352</sup>

As for al-Falimbānī, the only known text that he learned from Aḥmad al-Hilālī was Ibn Mājah’s *as-Sunan*, one of the ‘six books’ of *ḥadīth* collections.<sup>353</sup> It is not known where he met and studied with him. However, it is very unlikely that al-Falimbānī had travelled as far as Maghrib to study with him especially that we know he was his only teacher who came from that region. On the other hand, it is highly plausible that al-Falimbānī met him during one of his above-mentioned travels to Egypt and al-Ḥijāz (in Mecca or Medina).

According to al-Kattānī, the last surviving student of Aḥmad al-Hilālī was Muḥammad b. Ṣālīḥ az-Zakazūtī ar-Radānī who died on 24 Ramaḍān 1241/2 May 1826 thus surviving for sixty-six years after his teacher’s death.<sup>354</sup> However, from al-Falimbānī’s date of death demonstrated earlier as 17 Dhū al-Qa‘dah 1254/1 February 1839, perhaps he was his last surviving student who lived for seventy-nine years after his death.

## The Malay Archipelago

Though I have been able to trace a considerable number of al-Falimbānī’s teachers with whom he studied in various centres of Islamic learning in the Arab world, unfortunately records on his teachers from the Malay Archipelago are extremely rare or perhaps non-existent. In fact, from his known works that I have consulted, I have not found al-Falimbānī mention a single name of any earlier *Jāwī* or Arab teachers in the Archipelago. Thus, at this point, it is practically impossible for us to list his teachers in the Archipelago, unless we find such records in the future.

Nevertheless, according to our contemporary, Shaghir Abdullah, one of al-Falimbānī’s *Jāwī* teachers with whom he studied during his early education was ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd al-Mubīn al-Faṭānī. Abdullah



maintains that ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Faṭānī, who comes from Pauh Bok, a village in Pattani, was among al-Falimbānī’s teachers in Pattani based on oral tradition from the locals of Pauh Bok. In addition, an unpublished manuscript copy of *al-‘Urwat al-Wuthqā* from his personal collection, scribed by ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. Qunbul al-Faṭānī (whom he believes was a contemporary of al-Falimbānī) points out that al-Falimbānī studied with ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān.<sup>355</sup> However, it is impossible for us to verify this information, as this manuscript copy is unpublished and remains inaccessible.

Furthermore, again based on traditional narrative of the locals of Pauh Bok, Abdullah believes that ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Faṭānī was a close friend of Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān in Medina, who thus facilitated al-Falimbānī’s later education in Mecca and Medina.<sup>356</sup> However, upon consulting the works of al-Falimbānī, as-Sammān and his students, I have not found any evidence to substantiate this narrative. Perhaps, such narratives can be found in the works of contemporary scholars to al-Falimbānī, such as the classical Malay literary story entitled *Hikayat Walī Allāh Syekh ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān Pauh Bok* attributed to Dāwūd b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī. As the title would suggest, this work probably relates biographical notices and virtues of ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Faṭānī who was revered as a saint.<sup>357</sup> However, unfortunately, I have not been able to find any existing copy of this work.

To conclude, it should be clear that al-Falimbānī studied all branches of Islamic learning under a considerable number of the most renowned scholars of his time. In his lifetime, he in turn became prominent and this is evident, as we shall see, through looking at the stature of his students, to whom we turn to next.

## Endnotes

- <sup>1</sup> See al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, p. 138.
- <sup>2</sup> See al-Qannūjī, *at-Tāj al-Mukallal*, p. 363; al-Bayṭār, *Ḥilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 2, p. 851.
- <sup>3</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-‘Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 17; idem, *al-Wāfī*, p. 48; at-Tarmasī, *Kifāyat al-Mustafīd*, p. 6, footnote.

- <sup>4</sup> For Yahyā al-Ahdal's complete biography and works see al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 22-9; Zabārah, *Nashr al-'Urf*, vol. 2, pp. 880-3; vol. 3, pp. 354-7; Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 13, p. 216; al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 31-4, 110-1, 217-20, 252-3; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 8, p. 161; al-Qannūjī, *Abjad al-'Ulūm*, vol. 3, pp. 140-2; idem, *at-Tāj al-Mukallal*, pp. 344-5; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, pp. 1135-6; al-Ḥabshī, 'Abd Allāh, *Maṣādir al-Fikr al-Islāmī*, pp. 37, 72-3, 261, 524-5; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-'Ārifīn*, vol. 2, p. 534; al-Ahdalī, *al-Qawl al-A'dal*, p. 123; Sardār, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥalabī ash-Shāfi'ī, *Bulūgh Amānī al-Abrār* (Ḥalab, Dār al-Qalam al-'Arabī, 1417/1996) p. 27; Mu'assasat al-Imām aṣ-Ṣādiq, *Mawsū'at Ṭabaqāt al-Fuqahā* (1<sup>st</sup> edition, 14 vols., Beirut, Dār al-Aḍwā', 1422/2001), vol. 12, pp. 433-4; as-Sanūsī, Riḍā b. Muḥammad Ṣafī ad-Dīn, *Musnid al-Ḥijāz: ath-Thabat, Khātimat al-Muḥaddithīn ash-Shaykh 'Abd Allāh b. Sālim al-Baṣrī al-Makkī* (Jeddah, Markaz an-Nashr al-'Ilmī Jāmi'at al-Malik 'Abd al-'Azīz, 1426/2005), p. 43; Brockelmann, Carl, *Geschichte Arabischen Litterature* (2 vols. and 3 supplements, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1943-1949), (S) vol. II, p. 535.
- <sup>5</sup> See Zabārah, *Nashr al-'Urf*, vol. 2, p. 880; vol. 3, p. 354.
- <sup>6</sup> See al-Ḥabshī, 'Abd Allāh, *Maṣādir al-Fikr al-Islāmī*, p. 104.
- <sup>7</sup> See al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 22-3; al-Qannūjī, *Abjad al-'Ulūm*, vol. 3, p. 140.
- <sup>8</sup> See ash-Shawkānī, *al-Badr at-Tāli'*, vol. 1, p. 187; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 8, p. 161. According to al-Hīlah, a manuscript copy of this *thabat* is held in the manuscript collections in the Library of Mecca. See al-Hīlah, Muḥammad al-Ḥabīb, *Fahras Makhṭūṭāt Maktabat Makkah al-Mukarramah: Qism at-Tārikh* (London, Mu'assasat al-Furqān li 't-Turāth al-Islāmī, 1994), p. 107. A description of Yahyā al-Ahdal's *thabat* is given by al-Ahdal in his *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 259-60; al-Ḥabshī in his *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 252-3; al-Kattānī in his *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, p. 1136. His *'al-isnād al-'ālī* is evident from his *ijāzah* given to Aḥmad Sharīf Maqbūl al-Ahdal. See al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 64-5; al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 218-9.
- <sup>9</sup> See Zabārah, *Nashr al-'Urf*, vol. 2, p. 881; vol. 3, p. 355.
- <sup>10</sup> See al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 23-4, 64-5; al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, p. 218; Zabārah, *Nashr al-'Urf*, vol. 2, pp. 880-1; vol. 3, p. 354; Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī (d. 1205/1790), Muḥammad Murtaḍā b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd ar-Razzāq al-Ḥusaynī al-'Alawī, *Mu'jam al-'Allamah Ṣafī ad-Dīn Muḥammad al-Bukhārī al-Atharī d. 1200/1785* (1<sup>st</sup>

edition, Damascus, Dār al-Bashā'ir li 't-Ṭibā'at wa 'n-Nashr wa 't-Tauzī', 1420/1999), p. 19; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 3, p. 100.

- <sup>11</sup> For further discussion on the connections and roles of these scholars in the scholarly networks see Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism*, especially pp. 16-51.
- <sup>12</sup> For Yahyā al-Ahdal's connections in the networks see Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *Mu'jam*, pp. 19, 20; as-Sindī, *Ḥaṣr ash-Shārid*, vol. 1, pp. 118, 122, 127, 129, 132, 136, 141, 144, 157, 163, 177, 179, 305, 320, passim; vol. 2, pp. 617, 621, 667, 669, 673; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 90, 127, 146, 195, 253, 284, 374, 446; vol. 2, pp. 696, 700, 938, 1132, 1136; al-Fādānī, *al-Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 17, 55, 64, 118; idem, *al-Wāfī*, pp. 48, 81; idem, *Nahj as-Salāmah*, pp. 4, 19, 50, 55, 83, 85, 191, 194, 196, 197, 322, 329; idem, *al-Maslak al-Jalī*, p. 107; idem, *al-Fayḍ ar-Rahmānī*, p. 33; idem, *al-Arba'ūn Ḥadīthan min Arba'in Kitāban 'an Arba'in Shaykhan* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Beirut, Dār al-Bashā'ir al-Islāmiyyah, 1407/1987), pp. 13, 24, 50, 72; idem, *Ithāf al-Ikhwān bi-Ikhtiṣār Maṭmaḥ al-Wijdān fī Asānīd ash-Shaykh 'Umar Ḥamdān* (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Damascus, Dār al-Baṣā'ir, 1406/1985), pp. 81, 82, 83, 149, 162, 169, 174; at-Tarmasī, *Kifāyat al-Mustafīd*, pp. 6, 14.
- <sup>13</sup> See al-Fādānī, *Nahj as-Salāmah*, pp. 4, 117; Mamdūh, *I'lām al-Qāṣī*, p. 74; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 107.
- <sup>14</sup> See al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 25, 60; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, p. 1135.
- <sup>15</sup> See al-Qannūjī, *at-Tāj al-Mukallal*, p. 345.
- <sup>16</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 17; idem, *al-Wāfī*, p. 48; at-Tarmasī, *Kifāyat al-Mustafīd*, p. 6 footnote.
- <sup>17</sup> For Aḥmad Sharīf Maqbūl al-Ahdal's complete biography see al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 58-77; al-Qannūjī, *Abjad al-'Ulūm*, vol. 3, pp. 143-4; idem, *at-Tāj al-Mukallal*, p. 352; al-Ḥabshī, *Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 212-7; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 127, 195, 253, 374; vol. 2, pp. 583, 589, 620, 697, 866, 903, 1129, 1136; Khawqīr (d. 1349/1930), Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad 'Ārif b. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Makkī al-Kutbī al-Ḥanbalī, *Thabat al-Athbāt ash-Shahīrah*, edited by Rāshid b. 'Āmir b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ghufaylī (Riyadh, s.n., 1425/2004), p. 23; as-Sanūsī, *Musnid al-Ḥijāz*, pp. 28-9.
- <sup>18</sup> See as-Sinkīlī, *Umdat al-Muhtājīn*, MSS 2466, fol. 59.
- <sup>19</sup> See al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 69-71.

- 20 See al-Fādānī, *Asānīd al-Faqīh*, p. 12, as-Sindī, *Ḥaṣr ash-Shārid*, vol. 1, pp. 156, 202, 203, 221, 228, 233, 242; vol. 2, pp. 424, 429, 431, 443, passim.
- 21 See al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 59, 72-3; as-Sindī, *Ḥaṣr ash-Shārid*, vol. 1, pp. 249, 267, 289, 325, 339, 377.
- 22 A manuscript copy of an *ijāzah* written by Aḥmad al-Ahdal given to Ibrāhīm al-Amīr is kept at the al-Ḥaram Library, Mecca. See Muṭī' ar-Raḥmān, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, and 'Ādil b. Jamīl b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān 'Ayd, *al-Fahras al-Mukhtaṣar li-Makhṭūṭāt Maktabat al-Ḥaram al-Makkī ash-Sharīf* (4 vols., Riyadh, Maktabat al-Malik Fahd al-Waṭaniyyah, 1427/2006), vol. 1, p. 303.
- 23 See as-Sindī, *Ḥaṣr ash-Shārid*, vol. 1, pp. 54, 118, 127, 129, 142, 144, 156, 163, 191, 202, 203, 204, passim; vol. 2, pp. 424, 429, 431, passim; ash-Shawkānī, *al-Badr at-Tāli'*, vol. 2, p. 199.
- 24 See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 15, 30, 38, 44, 54, 57, 64, 71, 72, 78, 82, 83, 107, 111; idem, *al-Wāfī*, pp. 46, 61-2, 67, 77, 80, 84, 88, 95, 97, 100, 116, passim.
- 25 See al-Qannūjī, *Abjad al-'Ulūm*, vol. 3, p. 144.
- 26 See al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 170.
- 27 See Zabārah (d. 1381/1961), Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Ḥasanī al-Yamanī aṣ-Ṣan'ānī, *al-Mulḥaq at-Tābi' li 'l-Badr at-Tāli'* (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Beirut, Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1418/1998), vol. 2, p. 295; al-Qannūjī, *Abjad al-'Ulūm*, vol. 3, p. 143; idem, *at-Tāj al-Mukallal*, p. 351; al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 55-7; al-'Aẓīm Ābādī (d. 1329/1911), Abū aṭ-Ṭayyib Muḥammad Shams al-Ḥaq, *al-Wijāzah fī 'l-Ijāzah* (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Karachi, Mu'assasat al-Mujamma' al-'Ilmī, 1408/1988), p. 30.
- 28 For Amr Allāh al-Mizjājī's biography see al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 51-7; Zabārah, *Nayl al-Waṭar*, vol. 2, p. 48; al-Qannūjī, *at-Tāj al-Mukallal*, p. 351; al-Ḥabshī, *Uqūd al-La'al*, pp. 200-2; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, p. 86, vol. 2, pp. 608, 696.
- 29 See al-Fādānī, *al-'Ujālah*, p. 97.
- 30 Literally mean 'the tradition with continuous chain of primacy' or 'primacy *ḥadīth*' and it is commonly known among *ḥadīth* scholars as *ḥadīth al-awwaliyyah*.
- 31 See as-Sindī, *Ḥaṣr ash-Shārid*, vol. 2, p. 530; Mamdūh, *I'lām al-Qāṣī*, p. 24; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, p. 86.
- 32 See al-Fādānī, *Asānīd al-Faqīh*, p. 12; Mamdūh, *I'lām al-Qāṣī*, pp. 26, 74.



- <sup>33</sup> See al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, p. 54. For further discussion on the spiritual benefit of wearing the *al-khirqat aṣ-ṣūfiyyah*, see al-Ḥabshī, *‘Uqūd al-La’āl*, pp. 240-1.
- <sup>34</sup> For further information on Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb see Laoust, H. “Ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb” in *EF*, vol. III, p. 677.
- <sup>35</sup> See al-Fādānī, *Asānīd al-Faqīh*, pp. 12, 41, 100; idem, *al-Arba‘ūn al-Buldāniyyah*, p. 76; idem, *Ithāf al-Ikhwān*, p. 82; Mamdūh, *I’lām al-Qāṣī*, pp. 24, 26, 74, 81, 84; al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 54-5.
- <sup>36</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-‘Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 9-10; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 3, p. 53; al-‘Azīm Ābādī, *al-Wijāzah*, pp. 50, 57, 83, 89, 93, 99, 103; al-Mālikī (d. 1425/2004), Muḥammad b. ‘Alawī b. ‘Abbās al-Ḥasanī al-Makkī, *al-‘Uqūd al-Lu’lu’iyyah bi ‘l-Asānīd al-‘Alawiyyah* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, s.l., s.n., 1980), p. 131.
- <sup>37</sup> See al-Fādānī, *Nahj as-Salāmah*, p. 70.
- <sup>38</sup> See al-Ḥabshī, *‘Iqd al-Yawāqūt al-Jawhariyyah*, vol. 1, p. 76; as-Sindī, *Ḥaṣr ash-Shārid*, vol. 2, p. 530.
- <sup>39</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-‘Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 138; idem, *an-Nafaḥat al-Miskiyyah*, p. 5; idem, *al-Wāfī*, pp. 6, 134. For Aḥmad al-Hajjām’s complete biography see Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī (d. 1205/1790), Muḥammad Murtaḍā b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd ar-Razzāq al-Ḥusaynī al-‘Alawī, *al-Mu‘jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ: Yaḥtawī ‘alā Tarājīm Akthar min Sittimi’ah min A‘yān al-Qarn ath-Thānī ‘Ashar al-Hijrī, wa-Yalīhi, Mu‘jam Shuyūkhīhi aṣ-Ṣaghīr wa-Ijāzātuhu li ‘l-‘Allamah Muḥammad Sa‘īd as-Suwaydī*, edited by Nizām Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Ya‘qūbī and Muḥammad b. Nāṣir al-‘Ajmī (Beirut, Dār al-Bashā‘ir al-Islāmiyyah, 1427/2006), p. 62.
- <sup>40</sup> See as-Sindī, *Ḥaṣr ash-Shārid*, vol. 2, pp. 696-8; al-Fādānī, *Asānīd al-Faqīh*, p. 79. Ḥasan al-‘Ujaymī’s list of teachers and *isnāds* are compiled by his student Tāj ad-Dīn b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm ad-Dahān in an unpublished *thabat* entitled *Kifāyat al-Mutaṭalli‘ limā Ḥahara wa-Khaṣiya min Ghālīb Marwiyyāt Ḥasan b. ‘Alī al-‘Ujaymī al-Makkī al-Ḥanafī*. Unfortunately, even after an extensive search I was unable to locate this work.
- <sup>41</sup> For Aḥmad al-Hajjām connections in the networks see al-Fādānī, *Nahj as-Salāmah*, p. 149; idem, *Ithāf al-Mustafīd*, p. 11; idem, *al-Arba‘ūn Ḥadīthan*, p. 42; idem, *al-Arba‘ūn al-Buldāniyyah*, p. 45; idem, *Asānīd al-Faqīh*, pp. 30, 35, 54, 79, 85; as-Sindī, *Ḥaṣr ash-Shārid*, vol. 1, pp. 54, 119, 122, 128, 131, 158, 163, *passim*; vol. 2, pp. 429, 462, 487, 498, 696; Zabārah, *Nayl al-Waṭar*, vol. 1, p. 105; al-Ḥabshī, *‘Uqūd al-La’āl*, p. 239; Ghāzī (d. 1365/1945), ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Hindī al-Makkī,

*Fath al-Qawī fī Dhikri Asānīd as-Sayyid Husayn al-Ḥibshī al-ʿAlawī* (s.l., Published by his grandson Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. Aḥmad b. Husayn al-Ḥibshī, 1418/1997), p. 141.

<sup>42</sup> See Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. ʿAzūz, p. 72; idem, *al-Muʿjam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 62, 246-7.

<sup>43</sup> See Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Muʿjam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, p. 62; idem, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. Yaʿqūbī, pp. 79-81.

<sup>44</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfī*, pp. 6, 134-5; idem, *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, p. 138; idem, *an-Nafaḥat al-Miskiyyah*, p. 5.

<sup>45</sup> For Sālim al-Baṣrī's biography and works see al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿArīfīn*, vol. 1, p. 382; idem, *Idāḥ al-Maknūn*, vol. 1, p. 126; Kaḥḥālāh, *Muʿjam al-Muʿallifīn*, vol. 4, p. 203; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 119, 149, 194, 197, 213, 235, 284, 354, 447, 514; vol. 2, pp. 760, 938, 979, 983, 1010; al-Ḥaḍrāwī, *Nuzhat al-Fikar*, vol. 2, p. 9; Mirdād, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 1, pp. 161-2; al-Muʿallimī, *Aʿlām al-Makkiyyīn*, vol. 1, pp. 293-4; al-Hīlah, *at-Tārīkh wa ʿl-Muʿarrikhūn bi-Makkah*, pp. 399-400; as-Sanūsī, *Musnid al-Hijāz*, p. 32.

<sup>46</sup> See al-Ḥaḍrāwī, *Nuzhat al-Fikar*, vol. 2, p. 61.

<sup>47</sup> The other two scholars who possess the *ʿuluw al-isnād* are Aḥmad an-Nakhilī and Ḥasan al-ʿUjaymī. See Mirdād, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 1, p. 129; al-Muʿallimī, *Aʿlām al-Makkiyyīn*, vol. 2, p. 666.

<sup>48</sup> The *ʿmusānīd al-Hijāz as-sabʿah* in chronological order are ʿIsā b. Muḥammad al-Jaʿfarī ath-Thaʿālabī (d. 1080/1669); Muḥammad b. Sulaymān ar-Raddānī (d. 1094/1683); Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan al-Kūrānī (d. 1101/1690); Quraysh bint ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad aṭ-Ṭabariyyah (d. 1107/1695); Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-ʿUjaymī (d. 1113/1701); Aḥmad b. Muḥammad an-Nakhilī (d. 1130/1717); and ʿAbd Allāh b. Sālim al-Baṣrī. See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, p. 252; vol. 2, pp. 941-2; al-Muʿallimī, *Aʿlām al-Makkiyyīn*, vol. 2, pp. 641, 965; al-Fādānī, *Waraqāt*, pp. 27-8, idem, *Fayḍ al-Mubdī*, pp. 77-8.

<sup>49</sup> For the rest of ʿAbd Allāh al-Baṣrī's list of teachers see his *al-Imdād bi-Maʿrifat ʿUluw al-Isnād* (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Hyderabad, Maṭbaʿat Majlis Dāʿirat al-Maʿārif an-Nizāmiyyah, 1328/1910).

<sup>50</sup> See ash-Shawkānī (d. 1250/1834), Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, *Itḥāf al-Akābir bi-Asānīd ad-Dafātīr* (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Hyderabad, Maṭbaʿat Majlis Dāʿirat al-Maʿārif an-Nizāmiyyah, 1328/1910) p. 5; al-ʿAzīm Ābādī, *al-Wijāzah*, p. 94; al-Fādānī, *al-Qawl al-Jamīl*, p. 56. For his connections in the networks see al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 119, 149, 194, 197, 213, 235, 284, 354, 447, 514; vol. 2, pp. 760, 938, 979, 983, 1010; al-Mālikī (d.

- 1391/1971), ‘Alawī b. ‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Ḥasanī al-Makkī, *Fihrist ash-Shuyūkh wa ‘l-Asānīd* (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Saudi Arabia, s.n., 1423/2003), p. 13; al-Mālikī, *al-‘Uqūd al-Lu’lu’iyyah*, pp. 92, 100, 115, 173; al-Fādānī, *al-Arba‘ūn al-Buldāniyyah*, p. 17.
- <sup>51</sup> See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 149, 178; vol. 2, p. 979; Sardār, *Bulūgh Amānī al-Abrār*, p. 39; al-Mālikī, *al-‘Uqūd al-Lu’lu’iyyah*, p. 100; Abū Ghuddah, *Imdād al-Fattāh*, p. 502. For further information on Shāh Walī Allāh see Bazmee Ansari, A.S. “Al-Dihlawī, Shāh Walī Allāh” *EF* (Leiden, Brill, 1965), vol. II, p. 254.
- <sup>52</sup> See Mortimer, Edward, *Faith and Power: The Politics of Islam* (London, Faber and Faber, 1982), pp. 67-8.
- <sup>53</sup> See Mirdād, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 1, p. 162; al-Ḥaḍrāwī, *Nuzhat al-Fikar*, vol. 2, pp. 9, 61.
- <sup>54</sup> For further discussions on *al-Imdād* see al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, p. 979; as-Sanūsī, *Musnid al-Ḥijāz*, pp. 32, 46-7; al-Mālikī, *al-‘Uqūd al-Lu’lu’iyyah*, p. 115; al-Hilāh, *at-Tārīkh wa ‘l-Mu‘arrikhūn bi-Makkah*, pp. 399-400.
- <sup>55</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-‘Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 8, 123; idem, *al-Wāfī*, p. 12; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 170, vol. 3, p. 50.
- <sup>56</sup> For ‘Umar as-Saqqāf’s complete biography see al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh ‘Ajā’ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 228; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 89, 101, 121, 195, 200, 234, 296, 424, 449, 459, 532; vol. 2, pp. 739, 756, 792-6, 812, 853, 890, 1000, 1010, 1022, 1091; Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu‘jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 587-8; idem, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. Ya‘qūbī, pp. 107-16; as-Sanūsī, *Musnid al-Ḥijāz*, p. 37; Mirdād, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 2, p. 376; al-Mu‘allimī, *A‘lām al-Makkiyyīn*, vol. 1, p. 513.
- <sup>57</sup> See Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Murabbī al-Kābulī fī man Rawā ‘an ash-Shams al-Bābilī*, edited by Muḥammad b. Nāṣir al-‘Ajmī (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Beirut, Dār al-Bashā’ir al-Islāmiyyah; Damascus, Dār aṣ-Ṣiddīq, 1425/2004), pp. 196, 215.
- <sup>58</sup> See Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. ‘Azūz, p. 85; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, 492; al-Mu‘allimī, *A‘lām al-Makkiyyīn*, vol. 1, p. 513.
- <sup>59</sup> For ‘Umar as-Saqqāf’s connection in the networks see Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. ‘Azūz, p. 42; idem, *al-Murabbī al-Kābulī*, pp. 196-200, 204, 228-9, passim; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 89, 101, 121, 195, 200, 234, 296, 424, 449, 459, 532; vol. 2, pp. 739, 812, 853, 890, 1000, 1010, 1022, 1091; al-Ḥāfīz, *‘Ulamā’ Dimashq fī ‘l-Qarn*

- ath-Thālith 'Ashar*, vol. 1, p. 127; al-'Azīm Ābādī, *al-Wijāzah*, pp. 50, 51; al-Fādānī, *al-Arba'ūn al-Buldāniyyah*, p. 67.
- <sup>60</sup> See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, p. 89; vol. 2, pp. 792-6.
- <sup>61</sup> See Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. Ya'qūbī, p. 108; idem, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, p. 387; idem, *al-Murabbī al-Kābulī*, pp. 228-9; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 228.
- <sup>62</sup> See al-'Azīm Ābādī, *al-Wijāzah*, pp. 47, 94; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 228. Shāh Walī Allāh also wrote two other *thabat* work entitled *al-Irshād ilā Muhimmāt 'Ilm al-Isnād* and *al-Intibāh fī Salāsīl Awliya' Allāh wa-Asānīd Wārithī Rasūl Allāh* where he listed his teachers, the titles of various Islamic books he studied along with the *isnāds* to each of them. See al-'Azīm Ābādī, *al-Wijāzah*, pp. 96-7; al-Fādānī, *al-Fayḍ ar-Raḥmānī*, p. 12; Khawqīr (d. 1349/1930), Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad 'Ārif b. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Makkī al-Kutbī al-Ḥanbalī, *Thabat al-Athbāt ash-Shahīrah* (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Riyadh, s.n., 1425/2004), p. 27.
- <sup>63</sup> See ad-Dihlawī (d. 1239/1823), 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Shāh Walī Allāh Aḥmad al-'Umarī al-Fārūqī, *al-'Ujālah an-Nāfi'ah* (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Riyadh, Dār ad-Dā'ir li 'n-Nashr wa 't-Tawzī', 1422/2001), especially pp. 68-102; al-Fādānī, *al-Arba'ūn Ḥadīthan*, p. 80.
- <sup>64</sup> See al-Fādānī, *Fayḍ al-Mubdī*, p. 16.
- <sup>65</sup> See al-Fādānī, *Tanwīr al-Baṣīrah bi-Ṭuruq 'l-Isnād ash-Shahīrah* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Damascus, Dār al-Baṣā'ir, 1403/1983), pp. 11-2; idem, *al-Fayḍ ar-Raḥmānī bi-Ijāzat Faḍīlat ash-Shaykh Muḥammad Taqī al-'Uthmānī* (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Beirut, Dār al-Bashā'ir al-Islāmiyyah, 1406/1986), p. 14; idem, *Waraqāt fī Majmū'ah al-Musalsalāt wa 'l-Awā'il wa 'l-Asānīd al-'Āliyah* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Damascus, Dār al-Baṣā'ir, 1406/1986), pp. 25-6; Mamdūh, *I'lām al-Qāṣī*, p. 75; Abū Ghuddah, *Imdād al-Fattāh*, p. 502.
- <sup>66</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 8, 147; idem, *al-Wāfī*, pp. 12, 139; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 3, p. 50; at-Tarmasī, *Kifāyat al-Mustafīd*, p. 6 footnote.
- <sup>67</sup> For 'Aṭā' Allāh al-Miṣrī's biography see Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. Ya'qūbī, pp. 119-20; idem, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 479-80; Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 6, p. 283; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-'Ārifīn*, vol. 1, p. 664; idem, *Īdāh al-Maknūn*, vol. 2, pp. 139, 181, 690; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 94, 121, 149, 200, 532, 535; vol. 2, pp. 903, 985, 1128; al-Mu'allimī, *A'lām al-Makkiyyīn*, vol. 1, p. 138; Zabārah, *Nayl al-Waṭar*, vol. 1, p. 251; vol. 2, p. 66; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 4, p. 236; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 163; Brockelmann, *GAL (S)*, vol. II, p. 482.



- <sup>68</sup> See Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. Ya‘qūbī, pp. 119-20; idem, *al-Mu‘jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 479-80.
- <sup>69</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Zahrāt al-Murīd*, p. 5.
- <sup>70</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Zahrāt al-Murīd*, pp. 4, 5, 10; al-Falimbānī, *Mukhtār, Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, pp. 163-4; al-Banjārī, *Risālah Shajarah al-Arshadiyah*, p. 6.
- <sup>71</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Zahrāt al-Murīd*, p. 4.
- <sup>72</sup> A manuscript copy exists at Yale University Library (Beinecke, Landberg MSS 62).
- <sup>73</sup> For a list of his works see Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu‘jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 479-80; az-Ziriklī, *al-A‘lām*, vol. 4, p. 236; Zabārah, *Nayl al-Waṭar*, vol. 1, p. 251; Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu‘jam al-Mu‘allifīn*, vol. 6, p. 283; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-‘Arifīn*, vol. 1, p. 664; idem, *Īdāḥ al-Maknūn*, vol. 2, pp. 139, 181, 690; al-Mu‘allimī, *A‘lām al-Makkiyyīn*, vol. 1, p. 138.
- <sup>74</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Zahrāt al-Murīd*, p. 11; idem, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 1, pp. 112, 113.
- <sup>75</sup> For ‘Abd al-Ghanī al-Hilālī’s biography see al-Kuzbarī, *Thabat al-Kuzbarī*, p. 25; Mirdād, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 1, pp. 218-9; al-Bayṭār, *Ḥilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 2, pp. 862; al-Bakrī, *Fayḍ al-Malik al-Wahhāb*, vol. 2, p. 977-8; al-Mu‘allimī, *A‘lām al-Makkiyyīn*, vol. 1, p. 529; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, p. 486; vol. 2, p. 1137; Sardār, *Bulūgh Amānī al-Abrār*, p. 42; al-Fādānī, *Ithāfaṭ-Ṭālib as-Sirrī bi-Asānīd al-Wajīh al-Kuzbarī* (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Damascus, Dār al-Baṣā’ir, 1403/1983), p. 75.
- <sup>76</sup> See al-Bayṭār, *Ḥilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 2, p. 862.
- <sup>77</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Zahrāt al-Murīd*, p. 11.
- <sup>78</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 1, pp. 112, 113.
- <sup>79</sup> See Mirdād, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 1, p. 219. However, al-Jabartī reported that he died on 23 Sha‘bān 1212/10 February 1798.
- <sup>80</sup> For Aḥmad ad-Damanhūrī’s biography and works see Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. Ya‘qūbī, pp. 187-93; idem, *al-Mu‘jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 83-90; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 200, 244, 259, 260, 355, 404-5, 512, 531; vol. 2, pp. 582, 768, 779, 851, 1023, 1061, 1078, 1101, 1150; az-Ziriklī, *al-A‘lām*, vol. 1, p. 164; al-Ḥaḍrāwī, *Nuzhat al-Fikar*, vol. 1, pp. 136-8; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh ‘Ajā’ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 362; Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu‘jam al-Mu‘allifīn*, vol. 1, pp. 303-4; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 1, p. 117; al-Ḥabshī, *‘Uqūd al-La’āl*, pp. 314-5; al-Baghdādī, *Īdāḥ al-Maknūn*, vol. 1, pp. 16, 37, 62, 88, 110, 144, 156, 157, 195, 259, 335, 400, 403, 419, 437, 457, 462, 475, 616; vol. 2, pp. 50, 84, 109, 131, 150, 162, 216, 247, 255, 366, 374, 406, 570, 577, 583, 591; Mu‘assasat

- al-Imām aṣ-Ṣādiq, *Mawsū'at Ṭabaqāt al-Fuqahā'*, vol. 12, pp. 46-7; Brockelmann, *GAL (S)*, vol. II, pp. 498-9.
- <sup>81</sup> See Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, p. 84; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 362; al-Ḥaḍrāwī, *Nuzhat al-Fikar*, vol. 1, pp. 136-7.
- <sup>82</sup> See Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 84-5.
- <sup>83</sup> See Khawqīr, *Thabat al-Athbāt ash-Shahīrah*, p. 34.
- <sup>84</sup> See Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, p. 90.
- <sup>85</sup> They all authorised him to teach and to give *fatwās* according to their respective schools. See ad-Damanhūrī (d. 1192/1778) Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Madhāhibī al-Azharī, *al-Laṭā'if an-Nūriyyah fī 'l-Manḥ ad-Damanhūriyyah*, printed as addendum to *Shaykh Damanhūrī on the Churches of Cairo, 1739* (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London, University of California Press, 1975), pp. 73-87; Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 85-8.
- <sup>86</sup> See Mirdād, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 1, p. 54.
- <sup>87</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Zahrāt al-Murīd*, p. 11; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 233; Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 137-8.
- <sup>88</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Zahrāt al-Murīd*, p. 11; ash-Shanawānī (d. 1233/1817), Muḥammad b. 'Alī, *ad-Durar as-Saniyyah fī-mā 'Alā min 'l-Asānīd ash-Shanawāniyyah*, p. 2.
- <sup>89</sup> See az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 1, p. 164.
- <sup>90</sup> See Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 88-90.
- <sup>91</sup> See Brockelmann, *GAL (S)*, vol. II, pp. 498-9.
- <sup>92</sup> For a list of his works see az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 1, p. 164; Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 88-90; Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 1, p. 303; al-Fādānī, *Ithāf al-Mustafīd*, pp. 79-80.
- <sup>93</sup> Both texts survive in manuscripts held in Maktabat al-Ḥaram al-Makkī and Princeton University, respectively. See Muṭī' ar-Raḥmān, *al-Fahras al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 3, p. 1250; Mach, *Catalog of Arabic Manuscripts*, p. 201 (no. 2350).
- <sup>94</sup> This work was translated by Moshe Perlmann. See ad-Damanhūrī, Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Mun'im, *Iqāmat al-Hujjat al-Bāhirah 'alā Hadmi Kanā'is Miṣr wa 'l-Qāhirah*, translated by Moshe Perlmann as *Shaykh Damanhūrī on the Churches of Cairo, 1739* (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London, University of California Press, 1975).
- <sup>95</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Zahrāt al-Murīd*, p. 11.

- <sup>96</sup> See al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 163; al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, p. 138; al-Qannūjī, *at-Tāj al-Mukallal*, p. 363; al-Bayṭār, *Ḥilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 2, p. 851.
- <sup>97</sup> See Mirdād, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 1, pp. 173-5.
- <sup>98</sup> For Ibrāhīm az-Zamzamī's biography and works see Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 152-3; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 2, p. 385; Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 1, p. 98; al-Bayṭār, *Ḥilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 1, pp. 33-4; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-'Ārifīn*, vol. 1, p. 40; idem, *Īdāh al-Maknūn*, vol. 2, p. 582; al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 205-7; al-Qannūjī, *Abjad al-'Ulūm*, vol. 3, p. 152; idem, *at-Tāj al-Mukallal*, p. 366; al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 241-3; al-Mu'allimī, *A'lām al-Makkiyyīn*, vol. 1, pp. 473-4; Mirdād, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 1, pp. 12-3, 173-5; al-Ḥaḍrāwī, *Nuzhat al-Fikar*, vol. 1, pp. 59-60; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 2, p. 178; Brockelmann, *GAL (S)*, vol. II, p. 538.
- <sup>99</sup> For further discussion on the Khalwatiyyah Order see Martin, B. G., "A Short History of the Khalwati Order of Dervishes" in Keddī, Nikki R. (ed.), *Scholars, Saints and Sufi: Muslim Religious Institutions in the Middle East since 1500* (Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1972), pp. 275-305.
- <sup>100</sup> See Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, p. 152.
- <sup>101</sup> See al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 2, p. 385; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 2, p. 178.
- <sup>102</sup> See al-Ḥaḍrāwī, *Nuzhat al-Fikar*, vol. 1, p. 60.
- <sup>103</sup> See Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, p. 152; idem, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. 'Azūz, p. 25; al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 250-1; al-Qannūjī, *Abjad al-'Ulūm*, vol. 3, p. 21.
- <sup>104</sup> See Mirdād, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 1, pp. 12-3; al-Ḥaḍrāwī, *Nuzhat al-Fikar*, vol. 1, p. 60; Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, p. 153.
- <sup>105</sup> See al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, p. 138; al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, p. 223.
- <sup>106</sup> For Muḥammad Mirdād's biography, see Mirdād, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 2, p. 436; al-Bakrī, *Fayḍ al-Malik al-Wahhāb*, vol. 2, p. 1379; al-Mu'allimī, *A'lām al-Makkiyyīn*, vol. 2, p. 859.
- <sup>107</sup> See al-Bakrī, *Fayḍ al-Malik al-Wahhāb*, vol. 1, p. 448; vol. 2, 1094.
- <sup>108</sup> See al-Mu'allimī, *A'lām al-Makkiyyīn*, vol. 2, pp. 852-60.
- <sup>109</sup> *Ibid*, vol. 2, p. 855.
- <sup>110</sup> See Abdullah, *Syeikh Abdus Shamad*, pp. 35-6; idem, *Penyebaran Islam*, vol. 7, p. 4.

- <sup>111</sup> For Muḥammad Zayn al-Ashī's biography and works, see Abdullah, *Penyebaran Islam*, vol. 7, pp. 1-17; idem, *Perkembangan Ilmu Fiqh*, pp. 62-74; idem, *Syeikh Muhammad Arsyad Al Banjari*, p. 15; Ronkel (1870-1954), Philippus S. van, *Catalogus Der Maleische Handschriften in Het Museum Van Het Bataviaasch Genootschap Van Kunsten En Wetenschappen* (Batavia, Albrecht & Co.; Hague, Nijhoff, 1909), pp. 404-6; Heer, *A Concise Handlist*, pp. 50-1.
- <sup>112</sup> See al-Ashī, Muḥammad Zayn b. al-Faqīh Jalāl ad-Dīn al-Jāwī, *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah* ([Pulau Pinang], Percetakan Almuarif Sdn. Bhd., s.a.), p. 46.
- <sup>113</sup> See al-Ashī, *Kashf al-Kirām fī Bayān an-Niyyat 'inda Takbīrat al-Ihrām* (MS National Library of Malaysia) MS 1048, fol. 8.
- <sup>114</sup> See al-Ashī, *Talkhīṣ al-Falāḥ fī Bayān Ahkām aṭ-Ṭalāq wa 'n-Nikāḥ* (MS National Library of Malaysia), MSS 2824, fol. 9. However, MS 1518 shows that it was written on 1 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1171/6 August 1758, fol. 16. This indicates that either one of these two dates were mistakenly copied.
- <sup>115</sup> See al-Ashī, *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah*, pp. 31-2, 41-2.
- <sup>116</sup> See al-Ashī, *Kashf al-Kirām*, MS 1048, fol. 7.
- <sup>117</sup> For Muḥammad Sa'īd al-Maḥallātī's biography see Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 10, p. 36; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 6, p. 140; al-Mu'allimī, *A'lām al-Makkiyyīn*, vol. 1, p. 529; Mirdād (d. 1343/1924), 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad Abū al-Khayr, *al-Mukhtaṣar min Kitāb Nashr an-Nawr wa 'z-Zahr fī Tarājīm Afāḍil Makkah min 'l-Qarn al-'Ashir ilā 'l-Qarn ar-Rābi'* 'Aṣhar (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Jeddah, 'Ālam al-Ma'rifah, 1406/1986), p. 442; 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Siyar wa-Tarājīm*, p. 237; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 100-2.
- <sup>118</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 3, p. 179; vol. 4, pp. 258, 263; Abdullah, *Syeikh Abdus Shamad*, p. 40.
- <sup>119</sup> For 'Abd Allāh Mīrghanī's complete biography and works see al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 2, pp. 103-4; al-Bayṭār, *Ḥilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 2, pp. 1011-2; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-'Ārifīn*, vol. 1, pp. 486-7; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 101; al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 172, 191-2; Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. Ya'qūbī, pp. 93-4; idem, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 269-70; Khān, *Qatf Azhār*, pp. 121, 158; al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 157-9, where he is supposedly to have died in 1193/1779; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 101, 105, 195, 197, 200, 532; vol. 2, pp. 556, 557, 760, 903, 1129, 1137; al-Bakrī, *Fayḍ al-Malik al-Wahhāb*, vol. 1, pp. 149-50; az-Ziriklī,



- al-A'lām*, vol. 4, p. 64; al-Hilāh, *at-Tārīkh wa 'l-Mu'arrikhūn Bi-Makkah*, pp. 406-8; Brockelmann, *GAL* vol. 2, p. 506; *GAL (S)*, vol. II, p. 523.
- <sup>120</sup> For further information on the Mīrghani family see Bearman. P., *et al.*, (eds.) "Mīrghaniyya" in *EF*, vol. VII, p. 124.
- <sup>121</sup> See Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. Ya'qūbī, pp. 93-4; idem, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 269-70.
- <sup>122</sup> See al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 172.
- <sup>123</sup> See al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 157-9.
- <sup>124</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 3, p. 179. A manuscript copy is held at Maktabat al-Ḥaram al-Makkī, no. 2442 *mawā'iz*. See Muṭī' ar-Raḥmān, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, *al-Fahras al-Mukhtaṣar li-Makḥūṭāt Maktabat al-Ḥaram al-Makkī ash-Sharīf* (4 vols., Riyadh, Maktabat al-Malik Fahd al-Waṭaniyyah, 1426/2006), vol. 3, p. 1252.
- <sup>125</sup> See Muṭī' ar-Raḥmān, *al-Fahras al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 3, pp. 1092, 1094, 1186.
- <sup>126</sup> See Zabārah, *Nayl al-Waṭar*, vol. 1, p. 454; vol. 2, p. 204; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, 253; al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, p. 191; Abū Ghuddah, *Imdād al-Fattāh*, p. 351.
- <sup>127</sup> See al-Qannūjī, *at-Tāj al-Mukallal*, p. 363; al-Bayṭār, *Ḥilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 2, p. 851.
- <sup>128</sup> See Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism*, p. 115.
- <sup>129</sup> See al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 163; al-Fādānī, *Asānīd al-Faqīh*, pp. 40, 85, 107; at-Tarmasī, *Kifāyat al-Mustafīd*, p. 36; Ghāzī, *Faḥ al-Qawī*, pp. 139, 186.
- <sup>130</sup> See Bruinessen, Martin van, *Kitab Kuning: Pesantren dan Tarekat, Tradisi-Tradisi Islam di Indonesia* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Bandung, Penerbit Mizan, 1995), p. 62.
- <sup>131</sup> For Muḥammad Murād's biography see al-Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir*, vol. 2, p. 837.
- <sup>132</sup> See as-Sindī, *Ḥaṣr ash-Shārid*, vol. 1, pp. 50-1, 100, 186, 263, 269, 272, 278, 384, 389, 400, passim; vol. 2, p. 421.
- <sup>133</sup> See al-Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir*, vol. 2, pp. 842-3.
- <sup>134</sup> See as-Sindī, *Ḥaṣr ash-Shārid*, vol. 2, p. 701.
- <sup>135</sup> See al-Qannūjī, *Abjad al-'Ulūm*, vol. 3, p. 140; al-Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir*, vol. 6, p. 837, vol. 7, p. 1093.
- <sup>136</sup> See as-Sindī, *Ḥaṣr ash-Shārid*, vol. 1, pp. 50-1, 100; at-Tarmasī, *Kifāyat al-Mustafīd*, p. 36; al-Fādānī, *Asānīd al-Faqīh*, pp. 40, 85, 107; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 163; al-Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir*, vol. 2, p. 837; Ghāzī, *Faḥ al-Qawī*, pp. 139, 186.

- <sup>137</sup> See al-Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir*, vol. 6, p. 837.
- <sup>138</sup> See al-Būghūrī (d. 1349/1930), Muḥammad Mukhtār b. 'Aṭārīd al-Jāwī al-Makkī, *Ithāf as-Sādat al-Muḥaddithīn bi-Musalsalāt al-Aḥādīth al-Arba'in* (Egypt, Maṭba'at Dār Iḥyā al-Kutub al-'Arabiyyah, 1345/1926), p. 29; as-Sindī, *Ḥaṣr ash-Shārid*, vol. 2, p. 649.
- <sup>139</sup> Cf. al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 1, pp. 2, 219; vol. 2, p. 246; vol. 3, pp. 12, 13, 17, 18, 47, 178, 181, 183, 187, 189, passim; vol. 4, pp. 2, 7, 266, 267; idem, *Hidāyat as-Sālikīn*, pp. 109, 111, 112.
- <sup>140</sup> For Muḥammad as-Sammān's biography and works see at-Tunjī (ed.), *Tarājim A'yān al-Madīnah*, pp. 95, 128 (with a diagram illustrating his genealogy); Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. Ya'qūbī, pp. 145-7; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 6, p. 216; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 4, pp. 75-6; Zabārah, *Nayl al-Waṭar*, vol. 2, p. 24; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 332; Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 10, p. 188; al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, p. 142; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 201, 215, 259, 496; vol. 2, pp. 903, 1161; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-Ārifīn*, vol. 2, p. 341; idem, *Īdāḥ al-Maknūn*, vol. 2, p. 664; Qarīb Allāh, *as-Salāsīl adh-Dhahabiyyah fī Asānid A'yān at-Tarīqat as-Sammāniyyah*, pp. 96-8; Brockelmann, *GAL (S)*, vol. II, p. 535.
- <sup>141</sup> See al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, p. 200; al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'al*, pp. 239-40.
- <sup>142</sup> On these *Ṣūfī* Orders see Trimmingham, J. Spencer, *The Sufi Orders in Islam* (London, Oxford University Press, 1971).
- <sup>143</sup> See as-Sammān, *an-Nafaḥāt al-Ilāhiyyah*, pp. 16, 18, 60; at-Tunjī (ed.), *Tarājim A'yān al-Madīnah*, p. 95; Quds, *al-Futūḥāt al-Qudsiyyah*, pp. 5-8.
- <sup>144</sup> See az-Ziriklī, *A'lām*, vol. 6, p. 134; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 237; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 4, p. 65; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 353-5; al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'al*, pp. 91, 306-8; Martin, "A Short History of the Khalwati Order," p. 302.
- <sup>145</sup> See as-Sammān, *an-Nafaḥāt al-Ilāhiyyah*, p. 60; as-Sindī, *Ḥaṣr ash-Shārid*, vol. 1, p. 51; vol. 2, pp. 440, 453, 464, 472, 516, 523, 563, 680; Ghāzī, *Faṭḥ al-Qawī*, p. 139; al-Fādānī, *Ithāf al-Ikhwān*, p. 153.
- <sup>146</sup> See as-Sammān, *an-Nafaḥāt al-Ilāhiyyah*, p. 65; Quds, *al-Futūḥāt al-Qudsiyyah*, p. 6; al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, p. 143; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 4, pp. 135-6; at-Tunjī (ed.), *Tarājim A'yān al-Madīnah*, p. 77; al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'al*, pp. 166, 240; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, p. 938; al-Falimbānī, *Hidāyat as-Sālikīn*, p. 100.

- <sup>147</sup> For Muḥammad as-Sammān's scholarly connections in the network, cf. al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, p. 143; al-Ḥabshī, *Iqd al-Yawāqūt*, vol. 1, p. 89; idem, *Uqūd al-La'al*, p. 224; Quds, *al-Futūḥāt al-Qudsiyyah*, p. 6; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 3, pp. 195, 210; at-Tunjī (ed.), *Tarājim A'yān al-Madīnah*, p. 95; an-Nadwī, Muḥammad Akram, *Nafaḥāt al-Hind wa 'l-Yaman bi-Asānīd ash-Shaykh Abī al-Ḥasan* (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Riyadh, Maktabat al-Imām ash-Shāfi'ī, 1419/1998), p. 73; Khān, Ṣiddīq b. 'Umar al-Madanī, *Qatf Azhār al-Mawāhib ar-Rabbāniyyah min Afnān Riyāḍ an-Nafaḥat al-Qudsiyyah li-Sayyidinā ash-Shaykh as-Sammān*, edited by Aḥmad 'Abd al-Majīd Harīdī (Cairo, Aḥmad al-Badawī as-Sammān at-Ṭibī, 1393/1973), pp. ii-iii; al-Fādānī, *al-Qawl al-Jamīl*, p. 22; Zabārah, *Nayl al-Waṭar*, vol. 2, p. 24.
- <sup>148</sup> See Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 5, p. 75.
- <sup>149</sup> See al-Fādānī, *Asānīd al-Faqīh*, p. 95; idem, *Nahj as-Salāmah*, p. 122; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 102; Ghāzī, *Faṭḥ al-Qawī*, pp. 129, 231; as-Sindī, *Ḥaṣr ash-Shārid*, vol. 1, pp. 51, 288, 391, 407; vol. 2, pp. 427, 440, 453, 464, 472, 516, 523, 563, 680, passim; Khān, *Qatf Azhār*, pp. iii-v; Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. Ya'qūbī, p. 145; al-Kattānī, *Faḥras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, p. 903.
- <sup>150</sup> See Khān, *Qatf Azhār*, p. iv.
- <sup>151</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 3, pp. 178-9.
- <sup>152</sup> Manuscript copies of *Igāthāt al-Lahfān* and *al-Futūḥāt al-Ilāhiyyah* are said to exist at the al-Azhar Library, no. 798, ḥalīm 33432 and no. 602, *majāmī' as-saqqā* 28934, 28 fols., respectively. See Khān, *Qatf Azhār*, p. vi.
- <sup>153</sup> *Ibid*, p. vi; Qarīb Allāh, *as-Salāsil adh-Dhahabiyyah*, p. 96.
- <sup>154</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 2, p. 246; vol. 3, pp. 178-9, 181; Muṭī' ar-Raḥmān, *al-Faḥras al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 3, pp. 1034, 1208.
- <sup>155</sup> However, it is generally known among scholars of Arabic literature that Zakariyyā al-Anṣarī's *Faṭḥ ar-Raḥmān* is a commentary of Walī Raslān's *Risālah fī 't-Tawḥīd*, and as I will prove later on discussion of al-Falimbānī's works, this was actually a commentary on Raslān's *Risālah*. See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 3, p. 181; Chapter 5.
- <sup>156</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 4, p. 266.
- <sup>157</sup> For a more detailed account of his death see Khān, *Manāqib Shaykh Muḥammad as-Sammān* (MS Leiden University), Or. 7345, fols. 17-8; Kemas, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, *Nafaḥāt ar-Raḥmān fī Manāqib Ustādhinā al-A'zam as-Sammān* (MS Jakarta National Library), W. 126, p. 67; al-Falimbānī, Muḥammad Muḥyī ad-Dīn b. Shihāb ad-Dīn al-Jāwī, *Hikayat*

- Syekh Muhammad Saman*, Romanized by Aliudin Mahyudin (Jakarta, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1980), p. 70. Cf. at-Tunjī (ed.), *Tarājim A'yān al-Madīnah*, p. 95; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 4, p. 76; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 332; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 6, p. 216; Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 10, p. 188; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-Ārifīn*, vol. 2, p. 341; idem, *Īdāḥ al-Maknūn*, vol. 2, p. 664; Qarīb Allāh, *as-Salāsīl adh-Dhahabiyyah*, p. 96.
- <sup>158</sup> See Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, p. 441.
- <sup>159</sup> See al-Ḥaḍḍāwī, *Nuzhat al-Fikar*, vol. 1, pp. 84-6.
- <sup>160</sup> See az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 6, p. 216; Khān, *Qatf Azhār*, edited Harīdī, pp. vi, 167; al-Ḥilāh, *Fahras*, pp. 57, 85.
- <sup>161</sup> For further discussion on as-Sammān's influence in the Malay Archipelago see Drewes (d. 1992), G.W.J., "A note on Muhammad al-Sammān, his writings, and 19<sup>th</sup> century Sammāniyya practices, chiefly in Batavia, according to written data" in *Archipel* (43, 1992), pp. 73-87.
- <sup>162</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 3, pp. 179, 187.
- <sup>163</sup> For 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Maghribī's biography see al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 2, pp. 332-3; Khān, *Qatf Azhār*, edited Harīdī, pp. iv, 107, 213; Brockelmann, *GAL (S)*, vol. I, p. 197, vol. II, p. 1038.
- <sup>164</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 3, pp. 178-9, 187.
- <sup>165</sup> See al-Falimbānī, Muḥyī ad-Dīn, *Hikayat Syekh Muhammad Saman*, pp. 9, 10; Drewes, *Direction for Travellers*, p. 224.
- <sup>166</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 3, pp. 179, 182, 183; Brockelmann, *GAL (S)*, vol. II, p. 391.
- <sup>167</sup> See Khān, *Qatf Azhār*, edited Harīdī, pp. vii-x, 210.
- <sup>168</sup> *Azāwīyah*, literally 'corner' or 'nook' is used of the regular meeting place of a *Ṣūfī* order. It may denote a single room or in some case, a mosque with various outbuildings. See Lings, Martin, *A Sufi Saint of the Twentieth Century: Shaikh Ahmad al-'Alawī, his Spiritual Heritage and Legacy* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, London, George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1971), p. 13.
- <sup>169</sup> See Khān, *Qatf Azhār*, edited Harīdī, p. 185.
- <sup>170</sup> See Sani, H. Murjani, *Laporan Penelitian Upacara Manaqib Syekh Muhammad Samman AlMadani di Kelurahan Pekapuran Raya Banjarmasin* (Banjarmasin, Institut Agama Islam Negeri Antasari, 1998), p. 14.
- <sup>171</sup> A manuscript copy is said to exist at Maktabat al-Ḥaram al-Makkī, no. 2349 *taṣawwuf*. See Muṭī' ar-Raḥmān, *al-Fahras al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 3, p. 1205.



- <sup>172</sup> A manuscript copy exists at Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyah, no. 175. See Khān, *Qatf Azhār*, edited Harīdī, p. viii.
- <sup>173</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 3, pp. 179, 181-2.
- <sup>174</sup> See Khān, *Qatf Azhār*, edited Harīdī, p. 3.
- <sup>175</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 3, p. 183.
- <sup>176</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 3, p. 182; Ibn ‘Ābidīn, *‘Uqūd al-La’ālī*, pp. 243-4; Brockelmann, *GAL (S)*, vol. II, p. 605.
- <sup>177</sup> See Khān, *Qatf Azhār*, p. 97.
- <sup>178</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 3, p. 182.
- <sup>179</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Hidāyat as-Sālikīn*, p. 66; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 164.
- <sup>180</sup> For Muḥammad al-Kurdī’s biography and works see Kaḥḥālah, *Mu‘jam al-Mu‘allifīn*, vol. 10, p. 54; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 4, pp. 124-5; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 101, 102, 459, 483, 485, 520, 535; vol. 2, pp. 697, 828, 870, 902, 1147; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-‘Ārifīn*, vol. 2, p. 342; idem, *Īdāh al-Maknūn*, vol. 1, pp. 129, 257, 345, 423, 456, 617; vol. 2, 113, 157, 168, 204, 367, 543; al-Ahdal, *an-Nafās al-Yamānī*, pp. 228-30; az-Ziriklī, *al-A‘lām*, vol. 6, p. 152; at-Tunjī (ed.), *Tarājim A‘yān al-Madīnah*, p. 55; al-Qannūjī, *Abjad al-‘Ulūm*, vol. 3, p. 153; al-Ḥabshī, *‘Uqūd al-La’āl*, pp. 155-7, 246; Ibn ‘Ābidīn, *‘Uqūd al-La’ālī*, pp. 42-3; al-Fādānī, *al-‘Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 84; Mu’assasat al-Imām aṣ-Ṣādiq, *Mawsū‘at Ṭabaqāt al-Fuqahā’*, vol. 12, pp. 280-1.
- <sup>181</sup> See Sunbul (d. 1175/1761), Muḥammad Sa‘īd b. Muḥammad Sunbul al-Majlā’ī ash-Shāfi‘ī al-Makkī, *al-Awā‘il as-Sunbuliyyah* (Mecca, Maktabat wa-Maṭb‘at an-Nahḍat al-Ḥadīthah, 1401/1980), p. 29.
- <sup>182</sup> See Ghāzī, *Fath al-Qawī*, p. 130; al-Fādānī, *Ithāf al-Mustafīd*, p. 56.
- <sup>183</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Hidāyat as-Sālikīn*, p. 66.
- <sup>184</sup> See al-Ḥabshī, *‘Uqūd al-La’āl*, p. 156.
- <sup>185</sup> For a list of his works see Kaḥḥālah, *Mu‘jam al-Mu‘allifīn*, vol. 10, p. 54; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 4, p. 125; al-Fādānī, *Ithāf al-Mustafīd*, p. 56; Mu’assasat al-Imām aṣ-Ṣādiq, *Mawsū‘at Ṭabaqāt al-Fuqahā’*, vol. 12, pp. 280-1. His *Fatāwā al-Kurdī al-Madanī* is said to have been printed in *Qurrat al-‘Ayn bi-Fatāwā ‘Ulamā’ al-Ḥaramayn*, edited by Muḥammad ‘Alī b. Ḥusayn al-Mālikī (Bogor, Maktabat ‘Arafat, s.a.).
- <sup>186</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-‘Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 9, 105; idem, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 12, 114; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 3, p. 50.
- <sup>187</sup> For Mushayyakh Bā-‘Ubūd’s biography see at-Tunjī (ed.), *Tarājim A‘yān al-Madīnah*, p. 91; al-Ḥabshī, *‘Iqd al-Yawāqūt*, vol. 2, pp. 106-7; Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. Ya‘qūbī, pp. 135-7; idem, *al-Mu‘jam al-*

*Mukhtaṣṣ*, p. 275; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿArifīn*, vol. 1, p. 420; idem, *Īdāh al-Maknūn*, vol. 1, p. 312; al-Ḥabshī, ʿAbd Allāh, *Maṣādir al-Fikr al-Islāmī*, p. 351; al-Falimbānī, *al-ʿUrwat al-Wuthqā*, MSS 2865, fol. 12; Mamdūh, *Iʿlām al-Qāṣī*, p. 51.

<sup>188</sup> For his connections in the scholarly networks see al-Fādānī, *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, pp. 9, 105; idem, *al-Arbaʿūn Ḥadīthan*, p. 56; idem, *al-Wāfī*, pp. 12, 114; idem, *Fayḍ al-Mubdī*, pp. 90, 91; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 3, p. 50; Mamdūh, *Iʿlām al-Qāṣī*, p. 51; Ghāzī, *Faṭḥ al-Qawī*, pp. 123, 125, 134, 136, 228; al-Fādānī, *Asānīd al-Faqīh*, p. 86; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, p. 200; Khān, *Qatf Azhār*, pp. 88, 96, 125; Abū Ghuddah, *Imdād al-Fattāh*, p. 272;.

<sup>189</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, pp. 9, 105; idem, *al-Wāfī*, pp. 12, 114; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 3, p. 50.

<sup>190</sup> See Mamdūh, *Iʿlām al-Qāṣī*, p. 71.

<sup>191</sup> Cf. al-Fādānī, *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, pp. 3, 5, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 18, 19, 20, 24, 25, 28, 29, 31, 32, 33, 35, 37, 39, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 50, 53, 55, 56, 58, 59, 60, 61, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 73, 74, 75, 78, 79, 80, 84, 85, 92, 96, 97, 98, 100, 101, 103, 104, 106, 108, 110, 113, 114, 115, 117, 119, 122, 124, 126, 127, 129, 130, 132, 139, 140; idem, *Fayḍ al-Mubdī*, p. 11; *al-Wāfī*, pp. 5, 7, 9, 13, passim; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 169; vol. 3, pp. 7, 25, 36, 50, 54, 62, 66, 80, 82; at-Tarmasī, *Kifāyat al-Mustafīd*, p. 6; Abū Ghuddah, *Imdād al-Fattāh*, p. 502.

<sup>192</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfī*, p. 9; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 3, pp. 21, 36, 50; at-Tarmasī, *Kifāyat al-Mustafīd*, p. 6 footnote.

<sup>193</sup> See Sani, *Laporan Penelitian Upacara Manaqib*, p. 20.

<sup>194</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, p. 84, idem, *al-Arbaʿūn al-Buldāniyyah*, p. 72; idem, *Fayḍ al-Mubdī*, p. 11; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 169; vol. 3, p. 62.

<sup>195</sup> See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, p. 813.

<sup>196</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, pp. 115, 116, 117, passim; idem, *al-Wāfī*, pp. 5, 13, 22, 48, 62, 120, passim.

<sup>197</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-Arbaʿūn al-Buldāniyyah*, p. 72; idem, *Nahjas-Salāmah*, p. 4; idem, *Fayḍ al-Mubdī*, p. 11; Mamdūh, *Iʿlām al-Qāṣī*, p. 71; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 3, p. 53; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, p. 796.

<sup>198</sup> See al-Falimbānī, Muḥammad Azharī b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Jāwī, *Badīʿ az-Zamān Fī Bayān ʿAqāʿid ʿl-Īmān* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Mecca, al-Maṭbaʿat al-Miriyyah, 1313/1895), p. 118.

- <sup>199</sup> See Abdullah, *Syeikh Abdus Shamad*, pp. 36-8.
- <sup>200</sup> See Ghāzī, *Fath al-Qawī*, p. 242.
- <sup>201</sup> Cf. al-Fādānī, *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, pp. 3, 5, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 18, 19, 20, passim; idem, *Fayḍ al-Mubdī*, p. 11; idem, *al-Wāfī*, pp. 5, 7, 9, 13, passim; idem, *Tanwīr al-Baṣīrah*, p. 11; idem, *Waraqāt*, p. 29.
- <sup>202</sup> For evidence of his travel and study in Egypt, see al-Banjārī, Ṣiddīq, *Risālat Shajarah al-Arshadiyah*, pp. 6-7. Cf. Abdullah, *Syeikh Abdus Shamad*, p. 173.
- <sup>203</sup> See al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 170.
- <sup>204</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, pp. 17, 109, 143, 146; idem, *al-Wāfī*, pp. 44, 119, 137, 139; al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 4, p. 261; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 170.
- <sup>205</sup> For Aḥmad al-Mullawī's complete biography, see Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Muʿjam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 80-3; idem, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. Yaʿqūbī, pp. 167-71; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 1, pp. 116-7; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 96, 134, 145, 160, 164, 195, 196, 200, 213, 228, 229, 244, 253, 268, 269, 301, 355, 393, 457, 485, 531; vol. 2, pp. 559-60, 582, 705, 740, 749, 768, 773, 778, 785, 814, 825, 828, 870, 985, 1053, 1071, 1100, 1101, 1112, 1150; Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-Muʿallifīn*, vol. 1, p. 278; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh ʿAjāʾib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 234; al-Ḥabshī, *ʿUqūd al-Laʾāl*, pp. 309-10; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿĀrifīn*, vol. 1, p. 178; idem, *Īdāh al-Maknūn*, vol. 1, p. 153; vol. 2, pp. 45, 113, 159, 593; Ibn ʿĀbidīn, *ʿUqūd al-Laʾālī*, pp. 58-9; az-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, vol. 1, pp. 152-3; Sardār, *Bulūgh Amānī al-Abrār*, p. 32; as-Sanūsī, *Musnid al-Ḥijāz*, p. 28; Brockelmann, *GAL (S)*, vol. II, p. 482.
- <sup>206</sup> However, in another place, Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī also recorded him as Sābiq b. Ramaḍān b. Gharām ar-Ruʿaylī. Cf. Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. ʿAzūz, pp. 21-2; *op. cit.*, ed. Yaʿqūbī, p. 26; idem, *al-Muʿjam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, p. 785; al-Qannūjī, *Abjad al-ʿUlūm*, vol. 3, p. 19; al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 247-8; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, p. 536.
- <sup>207</sup> See Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Muʿjam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, p. 81; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, p. 559; Sardār, *Bulūgh Amānī al-Abrār*, p. 32; at-Tarmasī, *Kifāyat al-Mustafīd*, p. 13.
- <sup>208</sup> See al-Mullawī, Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ al-Mujīrī [*Thabat*] (Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University), MSS 257, fols. 1-26. Cf. Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Muʿjam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, p. 81; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 1, p. 117; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, p. 559.

- <sup>209</sup> See Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Muʿjam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, p. 82.
- <sup>210</sup> Perhaps this is the same text that I have consulted. A manuscript copy of 28 pages is said to exist at Makḥṭūṭāt Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah. See az-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, vol. 1, pp. 152-3; as-Sanūsī, *Musnid al-Hijāz*, p. 28.
- <sup>211</sup> A manuscript copy is held by Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University, Arabic MSS suppl. 374, 29 fols.
- <sup>212</sup> See Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Muʿjam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, p. 82; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 1, p. 117; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, p. 560; Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-Muʿallifīn*, vol. 1, p. 278; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh ʿAjāʾib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 234; al-Ḥabshī, *ʿUqūd al-Laʾāl*, pp. 309-10; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿArifīn*, vol. 1, p. 178; idem, *Īḍāḥ al-Maknūn*, vol. 1, p. 153; vol. 2, pp. 45, 113, 159, 593; az-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, vol. 1, pp. 152-3; Sardār, *Bulūgh Amānī al-Abrār*, p. 32; as-Sanūsī, *Musnid al-Hijāz*, p. 28; Brockelmann, *GAL (S)*, vol. II, p. 482.
- <sup>213</sup> See Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Muʿjam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 82-3; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 1, p. 117.
- <sup>214</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfī*, pp. 44, 119, 137, 139; idem, *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, pp. 17, 109, 143, 146.
- <sup>215</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, p. 148; idem, *al-Wāfī*, p. 140; al-Falimbānī, *Mukhtār, Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 170.
- <sup>216</sup> For Aḥmad al-Jawharī's complete biography see Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. ʿAzūz, pp. 22, 30, 111-4; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 1, pp. 98-9; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh ʿAjāʾib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, pp. 254-5; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿArifīn*, vol. 1, p. 78; idem, *Īḍāḥ al-Maknūn*, vol. 1, p. 426; vol. 2, p. 584; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 90, 96, 119, 134, 145, 160, 164, 195, 196, 200, 213, 228, 229, 233, 234, 244, 253, 268, 269, 301, 302-3, 355, 424, 457, 483, 485; vol. 2, pp. 582, 589, 680, 705, 739, 768, 773, 781, 785, 828, 850, 870, 1053, 1072, 1103, 1150, 1152; al-Ḥabshī, *ʿUqūd al-Laʾāl*, pp. 308-9; Ibn ʿĀbidīn, *ʿUqūd al-Laʾāl*, pp. 59-60; Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-Muʿallifīn*, vol. 1, p. 193; Sardār, *Bulūgh Amānī al-Abrār*, p. 32; az-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, vol. 1, p. 112; as-Sanūsī, *Musnid al-Hijāz*, p. 27; Muʿassasat al-Imām aṣ-Ṣādiq, *Mawsūʿat Ṭabaqāt al-Fuqahāʾ*, vol. 12, pp. 34-5.
- <sup>217</sup> See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, p. 582.
- <sup>218</sup> See al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh ʿAjāʾib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 254; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, p. 302.
- <sup>219</sup> See al-Ḥabshī, *ʿUqūd al-Laʾāl*, p. 157.
- <sup>220</sup> See Ibn ʿĀbidīn, *ʿUqūd al-Laʾāl*, pp. 34-5.



- <sup>221</sup> See al-Amīr al-Kabīr (d. 1232/1816), Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Mālikī al-Azhārī, *Thabat Muḥammad al-Amīr al-Kabīr* (Egypt, Maṭba‘at al-Ma‘āhid, 1345/1926), p. 37.
- <sup>222</sup> For a list of his works see al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, p. 303; Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu‘jam al-Mua’llifīn*, vol. 1, p. 193; Mu’assasat al-Imām aṣ-Ṣādiq, *Mawsū‘at Ṭabaqāt al-Fuqahā’*, vol. 12, p. 35;
- <sup>223</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfī*, p. 140; idem, *al-Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 148.
- <sup>224</sup> See Mamdūh, *I’lām al-Qāṣī*, p. 95; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, p. 303.
- <sup>225</sup> See al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh ‘Ajā’ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 255.
- <sup>226</sup> See al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, p. 138; al-Qannūjī, *at-Tāj al-Mukallal*, p. 363; al-Ḥabshī, *‘Uqūd al-La’āl*, pp. 223-4; al-Bayṭār, *Ḥilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 2, p. 851; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 164.
- <sup>227</sup> See al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh ‘Ajā’ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 296; vol. 2, p. 309; al-Bayṭār, *Ḥilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 2, p. 882.
- <sup>228</sup> For Muḥammad al-Jawharī’s biography see al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh ‘Ajā’ib al-Āthār*, vol. 2, pp. 307-9; al-Bayṭār, *Ḥilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 3, pp. 1321-4; Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu‘jam al-Mu’allifīn*, vol. 8, p. 250; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-‘Ārifīn*, vol. 2, pp. 352-3; az-Ziriklī, *al-A’lām*, vol. 6, p. 16; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 199, 229, 303, 377, 406; vol. 2, pp. 785, 796, 844, 845, 985, 1128, 1147; Mardam Beyk (d. 1378/1959), Khalīl, *A’yān al-Qarn ath-Thālith ‘Ashar Fī ‘l-Fikr wa ‘s-Siyāsah wa ‘l-Ijtīmā’*, edited by ‘Adnān Mardam Beyk (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Beirut, Mu’assasat ar-Risālah, 1977), p. 161; Brockelmann, *GAL (S)*, vol. II, p. 744.
- <sup>229</sup> See al-Bayṭār, *Ḥilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 3, p. 1323; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh ‘Ajā’ib al-Āthār*, vol. 2, p. 104.
- <sup>230</sup> See al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh ‘Ajā’ib al-Āthār*, vol. 2, pp. 307-8.
- <sup>231</sup> See al-Banjārī (d. 1245/1829), Muḥammad Nafīs b. Idrīs b. al-Ḥusayn al-Jāwī, *ad-Durr an-Nafīs Fī Bayān Wāḥidat al-Af’āl wa ‘l-Asmā’ wa ‘ṣ-Ṣifāt wa ‘dh-Dhāt* (Pulau Pinang, Percetakan Almuarif Sdn. Bhd., s.a.), p. 25.
- <sup>232</sup> For a list of his works see al-Bayṭār, *Ḥilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 3, pp. 1323-4; az-Ziriklī, *al-A’lām*, vol. 6, p. 16; Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu‘jam al-Mu’allifīn*, vol. 8, p. 250; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-‘Ārifīn*, vol. 2, pp. 352-3; idem, *Īdāh al-Maknūn*, vol. 1, pp. 14, 15, 18, 347, 420, 434, 449, 453, 587, 591; vol. 2, pp. 116, 411, 469, 592, 694; Brockelmann, *GAL (S)*, vol. II, p. 744.
- <sup>233</sup> See al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh ‘Ajā’ib al-Āthār*, vol. 2, p. 309.
- <sup>234</sup> Al-Kharibtāwī is an ascription to ‘Kharibtā’ of al-Buḥayrah in Egypt. See az-Ziriklī, *al-A’lām*, vol. 6, p. 16.

- <sup>235</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 50, 117-8; idem, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 18, 114-5.
- <sup>236</sup> For Dāwūd al-Kharibtāwī's complete biography see Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, p. 227; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, pp. 209-10; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 92, 532; vol. 2, p. 773; al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'al*, p. 222; al-Bayṭār, *Ḥilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 3, pp. 1408-11.
- <sup>237</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 18; idem, *al-Wāfi*, p. 50.
- <sup>238</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 115.
- <sup>239</sup> See Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, p. 227; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, p. 92.
- <sup>240</sup> See al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, pp. 209-10.
- <sup>241</sup> See al-Bayṭār, *Ḥilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 3, pp. 1408-11; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 2, pp. 107-8.
- <sup>242</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 120, 136; idem, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 123, 133; al-Falimbānī, *Mukhtār, Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 170.
- <sup>243</sup> For 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-'Aydārūs's complete biography see Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. Ya'qūbī, pp. 95-9; idem, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 367-93; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, pp. 363-4; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 2, pp. 330-1; Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 5, pp. 195-6; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 134, 200, 254, 258, 259, 263, 447, 450, 526, 532, 538; vol. 2, pp. 559, 586, 690, 697, 727, 739-42, 785, 793, 870, 914, 1129, 1142, 1161; al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 231-9; Zabārah, *Nashr al-'Urf*, vol. 2, pp. 50-6; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 3, p. 338; al-Qannūjī, *Abjad al-'Ulūm*, vol. 3, p. 153; al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'al*, pp. 247-9; Ibn 'Ābidīn, *'Uqūd al-La'alī*, pp. 47-50; al-Baghdādī, *Īdāḥ al-Maknūn*, vol. 1, pp. 177, 18, 182, 207, 233, 283, 284, 291, 296, 321, 332, 382, 390, 401, 545, 573, 574, 576, 579; vol. 2, pp. 98, 106, 164, 167, 1771, 236, 459, 469, 513, 622, 624, 662, 668, 669, 670, 691; al-Fādānī, *Ithāf al-Ikhwān*, pp. 102-3; idem, *al-Arba'un al-Buldāniyyah*, p. 57; al-Ḥaḍrāwī, *Nuzhat al-Fikar*, vol. 2, pp. 112-22; al-Ḥabshī, 'Abd Allāh, *Maṣādir al-Fikr al-Islāmī*, pp. 76, 160, 190, 354, 397, 451, 528, 588; Brockelmann, *GAL (S)*, vol. II, pp. 478-9.
- <sup>244</sup> See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 446-7.
- <sup>245</sup> See Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 368-9; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 363.
- <sup>246</sup> See al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 363; al-Fādānī, *al-Maslak al-Jalī*, p. 77; idem, *al-Arba'un al-Buldāniyyah*, p. 57.

- <sup>247</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-Arbaʿūn Ḥadīthan*, p. 56; idem, *al-Wāfī*, p. 132; Ibn ʿĀbidīn, *ʿUqūd al-Laʾālī*, p. 48.
- <sup>248</sup> See Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Muʿjam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 370-1.
- <sup>249</sup> See Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Muʿjam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 371, 393; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh ʿAjāʾib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 364.
- <sup>250</sup> See Ibn ʿĀbidīn, *ʿUqūd al-Laʾālī*, p. 48; Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Muʿjam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 372-3; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh ʿAjāʾib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 364; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 2, p. 331.
- <sup>251</sup> For a list of his works see Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Muʿjam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 390-2; Zabārah, *Nashr al-ʿUrf*, vol. 2, pp. 53-4; al-Baghdādī, *Īḍāḥ al-Maknūn*, vol. 1, pp. 177, 18, 182, 207, 233, 283, 284, 291, 296, 321, 332, 382, 390, 401, 545, 573, 574, 576, 579; vol. 2, pp. 98, 106, 164, 167, 1771, 236, 459, 469, 513, 622, 624, 662, 668, 669, 670, 691; az-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, vol. 3, p. 338; al-Qannūjī, *Abjad al-ʿUlūm*, vol. 3, p. 153; Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-Muʿallifīn*, vol. 5, pp. 195-6; al-Ḥaḍrāwī, *Nuzhat al-Fikar*, vol. 2, pp. 116-7; Muṭīʿ ar-Raḥmān, *al-Faḥras al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 3, p. 1193; Brockelmann, *GAL (S)*, vol. II, pp. 478-9.
- <sup>252</sup> See al-ʿAydārūs (d. 1193/1779), ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān b. Muṣṭafā at-Tarīmī al-Miṣrī, *Laṭāʾif al-Jūd fī Masʾalat Waḥdat al-Wujūd*, edited by ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Muḥammad al-ʿAbd (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Cairo, Dār al-Naḥḍah al-ʿArabiyyah, 1397/1977).
- <sup>253</sup> See al-ʿAydārūs, *Faydat an-Nafaḥāt Fī Masʾalat aṣ-Ṣifāt*, edited by ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Muḥammad al-ʿAbd (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Cairo, Dār al-Naḥḍah al-ʿArabiyyah, 1397/1977).
- <sup>254</sup> See Mach, *Catalog of Arabic Manuscripts*, p. 249.
- <sup>255</sup> See al-Batāwī (d. 1331/1913), ʿUṯmān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAqīl b. Yaḥyā al-ʿAlawī al-Jāwī, *as-Silsilat an-Nabawiyyah fī Asānīd as-Sādat al-ʿAlawiyyah ilā Jaddihim al-Muṣṭafā Khayr al-Bariyyah* (Batavia, s.n., 1301/1884), p. 2.
- <sup>256</sup> See al-Amīr al-Kabīr, *Thabat al-Amīr al-Kabīr*, p. 37; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 2, p. 331; vol. 3, pp. 214-5; al-Fādānī, *Iṭḥāf al-Mustafīd*, p. 51.
- <sup>257</sup> See Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Muʿjam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 392-3.
- <sup>258</sup> See al-Kattānī, *Faḥras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, p. 690; al-Fādānī, *Iṭḥāf al-Ikhwān*, pp. 102-3; Abū Ghuddah, *Imdād al-Fattāḥ*, p. 483.
- <sup>259</sup> See Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism*, pp. 112, 192.
- <sup>260</sup> See Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Muʿjam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, p. 369.
- <sup>261</sup> On the account of his travel to the Archipelago, see Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Muʿjam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, p. 369; Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism*, p.

58; Voll, John Obert, "The foundations of the modern experience: revival and reform in the eighteenth century," in his *Islam Continuity and Change in the Modern World* (Colorado, Westview Press Inc., 1982), p. 72.

262 See az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 3, p. 302.

263 See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfī*, p. 45; idem, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 14.

264 See al-Ḥabshī, 'Abd Allāh, *Maṣādir al-Fikr al-Islāmī*, p. 529; Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, p. 371.

265 See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 120, 136; idem, *al-Wāfī*, pp. 123, 133.

266 See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 52, 128, 137; idem, *al-Wāfī*, pp. 70, 130, 133, 134; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 170.

267 For Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī's complete biography and works see Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. Ya'qūbī, pp. 9-37; idem, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 803-8 (his autobiography); al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 2, pp. 73-80; al-Bayṭār, *Ḥilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 3, pp. 1492-516; Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 11, pp. 282-3; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-'Ārifīn*, vol. 2, pp. 347-8; idem, *Īdāḥ al-Maknūn*, vol. 1, pp. 15, 18, 19, 31, 55, 78, 101, 120, 130, 167, 174, 192, 210, 284, 298, 300, 316, 325, 329, 380, 398, 405, 414, 574, 5775, 579, 580, 581; vol. 2, pp. 45, 99, 105, 117, 240, 252, 362, 365, 408, 464, 469, 533, 576, 601, 648, 670, 682, 725; Zabārah, *Nashr al-'Urf*, vol. 2, pp. 21-9; al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 239-52; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 7, pp. 297-8; al-Qannūjī, *Abjad al-'Ulūm*, vol. 3, pp. 11-24; al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 83-90, 250-1; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 82, 88, 92, 98, 102, 175, 210, 229, 238, 332, 377, 453, 526-43; vol. 2, 549, 559, 600, 685, 712, 727, 752, passim; al-Fādānī, *Ithāf al-Ikhwān*, pp. 97-102; idem, *Ithāf at-Ṭālib as-Sirrī*, pp. 81-5; Brockelmann, *GAL (S)*, vol. II, pp. 398-9; idem, "Muḥammad Murtaḍā," *EP*, vol. VII, p. 445.

268 In Professor Ahmad Shboul's opinion.

269 See al-Qannūjī, *Abjad al-'Ulūm*, vol. 3, p. 23; Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, p. 803.

270 See al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 2, pp. 76-7.

271 See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, p. 528.

272 See al-Qannūjī, *Abjad al-'Ulūm*, vol. 3, p. 23. Cf. Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *Mu'jam Shuyūkhīhi aṣ-Ṣagīr*, p. 778.

273 See al-Fādānī, *Nahj as-Salāmāh*, p. 70.

274 See al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, p. 240.

275 See Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. 'Azūz, pp. 20, 42-4, 65-6; *op. cit.*, ed. Ya'qūbī, pp. 53-6; idem, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 793-4; al-



- Ḥāfiẓ, *‘Ulamā’ Dimashq Fī ‘l-Qarn ath-Thālith ‘Ashar*, vol. 1, pp. 125-9; al-Fādānī, *Asānīd al-Faqīh*, pp. 51, 71, 87, 98; idem, *Fayḍ al-Mubdī*, pp. 23, 24, 25, 34, passim; as-Sindī, *Ḥaṣr ash-Shārid*, vol. 1, pp. 132, 137, 302.
- <sup>276</sup> See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, p. 537. For a complete list of his teachers see Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu‘jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*; idem, *Mu‘jam Shuyūkhīhi aṣ-Ṣagīr*; idem, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*.
- <sup>277</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfī*, pp. 70, 130, 133, 134; idem, *al-‘Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 52, 128, 137.
- <sup>278</sup> See Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu‘jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, p. 803.
- <sup>279</sup> See al-Qannūjī, *Abjad al-‘Ulūm*, vol. 3, p. 23; Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. ‘Azūz, p. 15.
- <sup>280</sup> For a complete list of his works see Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu‘jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 803-8; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh ‘Ajā’ib al-Āthār*, vol. 2, pp. 78-9; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-‘Ārifīn*, vol. 2, pp. 347-8; idem, *Īḍāḥ al-Maknūn*, vol. 1, pp. 15, 18, 19, 31, 55, 78, 101, 120, 130, 167, 174, 192, 210, 284, 298, 300, 316, 325, 329, 380, 398, 405, 414, 574, 5775, 579, 580, 581; vol. 2, pp. 45, 99, 105, 117, 240, 252, 362, 365, 408, 464, 469, 533, 576, 601, 648, 670, 682, 725; Muṭī‘ ar-Raḥmān, *al-Fahras al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 3, pp. 1161, 1162, 1169, 1193; Brockelmann, *GAL (S)*, vol. II, pp. 398-9.
- <sup>281</sup> See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 537-9.
- <sup>282</sup> See Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu‘jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 795-6; idem, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. ‘Azūz, p. 42.
- <sup>283</sup> See Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-‘Arūs al-Majliyyah fī Asānīd al-Ḥadīth al-Musalsal bi ‘l-Awwaliyyah* (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Beirut, Dār al-Bashā’ir al-Islāmiyyah, 1421/2000), p. 46. Cf. idem, *al-Mu‘jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, p. 796; al-Mashāt (d. 1399/1979), Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abbas al-Makkī, *al-Irshād bi-Dhikri Ba‘ḍ mā-lī min ‘l-Ījāzat wa ‘l-Isnād* (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Cairo, Maṭba‘at al-Madanī, 1386/1966), p. 7; ash-Shaḥārī, ‘Abd Allāh b. Sa‘īd Muḥammad ‘Ubādī al-Laḥjī al-Ḥaḍramī, *I‘ānat Rabb al-Bariyyah ‘Alā Jam‘a Tarājim al-Ḥadīth al-Musalsal Bi ‘l-Awwaliyyah* (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Cairo, Maṭba‘at al-Madanī, 1386/1966), p. 53.
- <sup>284</sup> See al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, p. 249; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh ‘Ajā’ib al-Āthār*, vol. 2, p. 74. Both authors were his contemporaries.
- <sup>285</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-‘Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 63, 75, 135; idem, *al-Arba‘ūn al-Buldāniyyah*, p. 66; idem, *Fayḍ al-Mubdī*, p. 11; idem, *al-Wāfī*, pp. 87, 133; idem, *Nahj as-Salāmah*, p. 21; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 170.

- <sup>286</sup> For 'Alī al-Wanā'ī's complete biography see al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol.1, 89, 201, 213, 214, 215, 229, 393, 486, 539; vol. 2, pp. 739, 796, 813, 844, 845, 903, 904, 906, 943, 960, 1073, 1075, 1114-6; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 4, p. 298; al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 71-83, 90-106, 108-116, 118-20; al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, p. 210; al-Kuzbarī, *Thabat al-Kuzbarī*, p. 24; Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 7, p. 117; al-Hilāh, *at-Tārīkh wa 'l-Mu'arrikhūn Bi-Makkah*, pp. 408-9; al-Fādānī, *Ithāf at-Ṭālib as-Sirrī*, pp. 67-9; ash-Shaḥārī, *I'ānat Rabb al-Bariyyah*, pp. 25-8.
- <sup>287</sup> See al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 73-4, 90-1, 93, 118; ash-Shaḥārī, *I'ānat Rabb al-Bariyyah*, p. 26.
- <sup>288</sup> See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, p. 1114.
- <sup>289</sup> See al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, p. 74; ash-Shaḥārī, *I'ānat Rabb al-Bariyyah*, p. 26.
- <sup>290</sup> See al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 101-4.
- <sup>291</sup> See al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 72-3; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, pp. 960, 1075, 1115; al-Kuzbarī, *Thabat al-Kuzbarī*, pp. 34-5; al-Fādānī, *al-Arba'ūn al-Buldāniyyah*, p. 30; idem, *Ithāf al-Bararah*, p. 27; ash-Shaḥārī, *I'ānat Rabb al-Bariyyah*, p. 27.
- <sup>292</sup> See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, pp. 903, 1073, 1115-16; al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, p. 111; al-Fādānī, *Asānid al-Faqīh*, pp. 109, 110.
- <sup>293</sup> See ash-Shaḥārī, *I'ānat Rabb al-Bariyyah*, p. 28; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, p. 1115.
- <sup>294</sup> See al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 111-2.
- <sup>295</sup> See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, p. 1115; al-Fullānī, *Īqāz Himam*, p. ii; al-Kuzbarī, *Thabat al-Kuzbarī*, p. 24.
- <sup>296</sup> For a complete list of his works see al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, p. 115; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 4, p. 298; al-Baghdādī, *Īdāḥ al-Maknūn*, vol. 1, pp. 478, 620; vol. 2, p. 575; idem, *Hadiyyat al-Ārifīn*, vol. 1, p. 770; al-Fādānī, *Ithāf al-Mustafīd*, p. 56; Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 7, p. 117; Muṭī' ar-Raḥmān, *al-Fahras al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 3, p. 1268; Brockelmann, *GAL (S)*, vol. II, p. 424.
- <sup>297</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-Arba'ūn al-Buldāniyyah*, p. 66.
- <sup>298</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfī*, pp. 87, 104, 132-3; idem, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 63, 75, 134-4; idem, *al-Arba'ūn al-Buldāniyyah*, p. 66; idem, *Fayḍ al-Mubdī*, p. 11.
- <sup>299</sup> See al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 170.

- <sup>300</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-‘Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 22; idem, *al-Wāfī*, p. 51; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 170.
- <sup>301</sup> For Aḥmad al-‘Aṭṭār’s biography see al-Kuzbarī, *Thabat al-Kuzbarī*, pp. 21-2; idem, *Intikhāb al-‘Awālī wa ‘sh-Shuyūkh al-Akhyār min Fahāris Shaykhinā al-Imām al-Musnid al-‘Aṭṭār* (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Damascus, Dār al-Fikr; Beirut, Dār al-Fikr al-Mu‘āṣir, 1414/1994), pp. 12-4; Ibn ‘Ābidīn, *‘Uqūd al-La‘ālī*, pp. 36-9; al-Ḥabshī, *‘Uqūd al-La‘āl*, pp. 125-134; al-Bayṭār, *Ḥilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 1, pp. 26, 239-41; Mardām Beyk, *A‘yān al-Qarn ath-Thālith ‘Ashar*, pp. 30-2; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 89, 99, 100, 122, 131, 133, 160, 171, 201, 215, 229, 303, 475, 486, 487, 511; vol. 2, pp. 560, 622, 662, 671, 754, 796, 827-9, 840, 844, 870, 903, 941, 1061, 1078, 1151; ash-Shaṭṭī, *Rawḍ al-Bashar*, pp. 33-6; idem, *A‘yān Dimashq*, pp. 44-7; az-Ziriklī, *al-A‘lām*, vol. 1, p. 166; Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu‘jam al-Mu‘allifīn*, vol. 1, p. 307; al-Fādānī, *Ithāf al-Ikhwān*, p. 94; idem, *Ithāf at-Tālib as-Sirrī*, pp. 60-2; al-Ḥāfīz, *‘Ulamā’ Dimashq fī ‘l-Qarn ath-Thālith ‘Ashar*, pp. 115-149.
- <sup>302</sup> See al-Kuzbarī, *Intikhāb al-‘Awālī*, pp. 18, 20.
- <sup>303</sup> See al-Aṭṭār (d. 1218/1803), Aḥmad b. ‘Ubayd b. ‘Abd Allāh ash-Shāfī ‘ī ad-Dimashqī, *Thabat al-Aṭṭār* (The Houghton Library, MS Arab 115), fols. 1-8. Cf. al-Ḥāfīz, *‘Ulamā’ Dimashq fī ‘l-Qarn ath-Thālith ‘Ashar*, vol. 1, pp. 131-49.
- <sup>304</sup> For a good recent study on ‘Abd al-Ghanī an-Nābulusī see Akkach, Samer, *‘Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulusi: Islam and the Enlightenment* (Oxford, Oneworld Publications, 2007).
- <sup>305</sup> See al-‘Aṭṭār, *Thabat al-‘Aṭṭār*, fol. 4.
- <sup>306</sup> See al-Kuzbarī, *Intikhāb al-‘Awālī*, pp. 28-44; idem, *Thabat al-Kuzbarī*, pp. 21-2; al-Ḥāfīz, *‘Ulamā’ Dimashq fī ‘l-Qarn ath-Thālith ‘Ashar*, vol. 1, pp. 122-47.
- <sup>307</sup> See Ibn ‘Ābidīn, *‘Uqūd al-La‘ālī*, pp. 37-9.
- <sup>308</sup> However, I did not find any evidence that Aḥmad and his student ‘Umar were related though they both carry the same family name, al-‘Aṭṭār.
- <sup>309</sup> See al-Ḥabshī, *‘Uqūd al-La‘āl*, pp. 125-7, 146, 149; al-Fādānī, *an-Nafaḥat al-Miskiyyah*, p. 52.
- <sup>310</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 4, p. 267.
- <sup>311</sup> See Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. ‘Azūz, pp. 35-44; al-Ḥāfīz, *‘Ulamā’ Dimashq fī ‘l-Qarn ath-Thālith ‘Ashar*, vol. 1, pp. 122-9, 136; al-Kuzbarī, *Thabat al-Kuzbarī*, p. 29; idem, *Intikhāb al-‘Awālī*, p. 33.

- <sup>312</sup> See ash-Shaṭṭī, *Rawḍ al-Bashar*, pp. 35-6; idem, *A'yān Dimashq*, pp. 46-7; al-Bakrī, *Fayḍ al-Malik al-Wahhāb*, vol. 1, p. 384; al-Bayṭār, *Hilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 1, pp. 462-3.
- <sup>313</sup> See al-Bayṭār, *Hilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 1, p. 241.
- <sup>314</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfī*, p. 51; idem, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 22.
- <sup>315</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 49, 125; idem, *al-Wāfī*, pp. 70, 125; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 170.
- <sup>316</sup> For Muḥammad as-Saffārīnī's biography see Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. 'Azūz, pp. 23, 32, 156-9; idem, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 642-7; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 4, pp. 47-8; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, pp. 324-6; al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, p. 130; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, pp. 1002-5; Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 8, p. 262; Ibn 'Ābidīn, *Uqūd al-La'ālī*, pp. 62-7; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-'Ārifīn*, vol. 2, p. 340; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 6, p. 14; al-Fādānī, *Ithāf al-Ikhwān*, pp. 103-4; as-Sanūsī, *Musnid al-Hijāz*, p. 38; Mu'assasat al-Imām aṣ-Ṣādiq, *Mawsū'at Ṭabaqāt al-Fuqahā'*, vol. 12, pp. 257-8.
- <sup>317</sup> See as-Saffārīnī, *Thabat al-Imām as-Saffārīnī*, pp. 171-94; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 4, p. 47; Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 642-4; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, pp. 324-5; Abū Ghuddah, *Imdād al-Fattāh*, p. 330.
- <sup>318</sup> See as-Saffārīnī, *Thabat al-Imām as-Saffārīnī*, pp. 42-53, 107-14.
- <sup>319</sup> See as-Saffārīnī, *Thabat al-Imām as-Saffārīnī*, pp. 173-5.
- <sup>320</sup> See as-Saffārīnī, *Thabat al-Imām as-Saffārīnī*, pp. 193-4; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 325.
- <sup>321</sup> See al-Fādānī, *Fayḍ al-Mubdī*, p. 18; idem, *Ithāf al-Ikhwān*, p. 104; idem, *an-Nafaḥat al-Miskiyyah*, pp. 24, 25; idem, *al-Wāfī*, p. 64; as-Sanūsī, *Musnid al-Hijāz*, p. 38.
- <sup>322</sup> See az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 646-7; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 325.
- <sup>323</sup> See az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 646-7; idem, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. 'Azūz, pp. 23, 32; as-Saffārīnī, *Thabat al-Imām as-Saffārīnī*, pp. 91-194, 205-88.
- <sup>324</sup> For a list of his works see as-Saffārīnī, *Thabat al-Imām as-Saffārīnī*, pp. 68-70; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 4, p. 47; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 6, p. 14; al-Fādānī, *Ithāf al-Mustafīd*, p. 32; idem, *an-Nafaḥat al-Miskiyyah*, p. 26; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, pp. 1002-3; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 325; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-'Ārifīn*, vol. 2, p. 340; idem, *Īdāh al-Maknūn*, vol. 1, pp. 29, 167, 230, 262, 266, 297, 346,



- 372, 451, 468; vol. 2, pp. 98, 142, 226, 412, 503, 576, 619; Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifin*, vol. 8, p. 262; Mu'assasat al-Imām aṣ-Ṣādiq, *Mawsū'at Tabaqāt al-Fuqahā'*, vol. 12, p. 258.
- 325 See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 49, 125; idem, *al-Wāfī*, pp. 70, 125.
- 326 See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfī*, p. 123; idem, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 34, 120; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 170.
- 327 For 'Umar al-Armanāzī's biography and works see al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 3, pp. 176-7; Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifin*, vol. 7, p. 292; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lam*, vol. 5, p. 51; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-'Ārifīn*, vol. 1, p. 798; idem, *Īdāḥ al-Maknūn*, vol. 1, p. 84.
- 328 See al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 3, p. 176.
- 329 See az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lam*, vol. 5, p. 51; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 3, p. 177.
- 330 See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfī*, p. 123; idem, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 120.
- 331 See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 120; idem, *al-Wāfī*, p. 72.
- 332 Al-'Aqīlī is an ascription (*nisbah*) to his progenitor, a renowned Saint and *al-Qutb*, Shaykh 'Aqīl al-Manbajī. See his father, 'Uthmān al-'Aqīlī's biography in al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 3, pp. 147-8.
- 333 See al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 3, p. 147.
- 334 For Muḥammad al-'Aqīlī's biography and connections in the networks see al-Bayṭār, *Ḥilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 3, p. 1298; ash-Shaṭṭī, *A'yān Dimashq*, p. 254; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, pp. 738, 984, 985, 1077; al-Fādānī, *Asānīd al-Faqīh*, p. 20; al-Mālikī, *Fihrist*, p. 34.
- 335 See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, p. 1076.
- 336 See al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 3, p. 147.
- 337 See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, pp. 738, 984, 985, 1077.
- 338 See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, pp. 738, 985; al-Fādānī, *Asānīd al-Faqīh*, p. 20; idem, *al-'Ujālah*, p. 87; al-Mālikī, *Fihrist*, p. 34.
- 339 See al-Fādānī, *Itḥāf al-Bararah*, p. 12.
- 340 See pp. 22, 100.
- 341 It is worth noting that many modern studies transliterate this work as *Silk ad-Durar fī A'yān al-Qarn at-Thānī 'Ashar*. However, from the Arabic verb *aslaka*, *yusliku*, *salkan*, which means to thread, I consider the transliteration *Salk ad-Durar* (the threading of pearls) to be more appropriate thus, adopting it throughout my writing. Cf. Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism*, p. 115; Bruinessen, Martin van, "Kurdish 'Ulama and their Indonesian Disciples," a revised version of: "The impact of Kurdish 'ulama on Indonesian Islam," *Les annales de l'autre Islam* (5, 1998), pp. 83-106; idem, "A Note on Source Materials," p. 66.

- <sup>342</sup> See Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism*, p. 115.
- <sup>343</sup> See as-Saffārīnī, *Thabat al-Imām as-Saffārīnī*, p. 320; Mamdūh, *I'lām al-Qāṣī*, pp. 42, 46, 55, 97; al-Fādānī, *al-Arba'ūn al-Buldāniyyah*, p. 51; idem, *Fayḍ al-Mubdī*, p. 24; idem, *al-Wāfī*, p. 74; idem, *al-'Ujālah*, p. 87; idem, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 36; al-Mālikī, *Fihrist*, p. 34.
- <sup>344</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 8; idem, *al-Wāfī*, p. 12; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 3, p. 50.
- <sup>345</sup> For Aḥmad al-Hilālī's biography and works see Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 1, pp. 275-6, vol. 13, p. 361; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 120, 169, 173, 175, 184, 188, 224, 226, 227, 228, 259, 263, 352, 354, 403, 413; vol. 2, pp. 771, 812, 813, 848, 875, 899, 981, 982, 983, 1049, 1050, 1071, 1099-102, 1162; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-'Arifīn*, vol. 1, p. 176; idem, *Īdāh*, vol. 1, pp. 546, 615; vol. 2, 684; Abū Ghuddah, *Imdād al-Fattāh*, pp. 490-1; Brockelmann, *GAL (S)*, vol. II, p. 390.
- <sup>346</sup> See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 169, 175, 184, 259; vol. 2, pp. 812, 813, 848, 1049, 1050, 1100, 1162; al-Fādānī, *Itḥāf al-Mustafīd*, p. 37; idem, *al-Wāfī*, p. 12; idem, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 8-9; idem, *Fayḍ al-Mubdī*, pp. 49, 67; az-Zāhirī, *Ḥusnu 'l-Wafā*, p. 7.
- <sup>347</sup> See Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 1, p. 275.
- <sup>348</sup> See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, p. 1100.
- <sup>349</sup> See al-Fādānī, *Fayḍ al-Mubdī*, p. 67.
- <sup>350</sup> See Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 1, p. 275.
- <sup>351</sup> See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, p. 875.
- <sup>352</sup> A manuscript copy of his *Asānīd Abī al-'Abbās al-Hilālī* is kept at Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah, 4 *majāmī' shin*, fols. 64-95, while his *Fahrasat al-Hilālī* contains 9 fols. See al-Fādānī, *ar-Rawḍ al-Fā'iḥ*, ed. Yūsuf al-Mar'ashlī, p. 161; Abū Ghuddah, *Imdād al-Fattāh*, pp. 490-1.
- <sup>353</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfī*, p. 12; idem, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 8; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 3, p. 50.
- <sup>354</sup> See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 403, 1101, 1102.
- <sup>355</sup> See Abdullah, *al-'Urwatul Wutsqa*, p. 41 footnote; idem, *Syeikh Abdus Samad*, pp. 33, 39. For further information on 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Faṭānī's life account see Abdullah, *al-Ma'rifah: Pelbagai Aspek Tasawuf di Nusantara* (2 vols., Kuala Lumpur, Khazanah Fathaniyah, 2004), vol. 2, pp. 204-23; idem, *Wawasan Pemikiran Islam*, vol. 3, pp. 11-12; idem, *Penyebaran Islam*, vol. 6, pp. 27-39; Heer, *A Concise Handlist*, p. 12.
- <sup>356</sup> See Abdullah, *Syeikh Abdus Shamad*, p. 33; idem, *Penyebaran Islam*, vol. 10, p. 51.
- <sup>357</sup> See Heer, *A Concise Handlist*, p. 28; Abdullah, *Wawasan Pemikiran Islam*, vol. 5, p. 95.

# Chapter 4

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## Al-Falimbānī's Schools

### Introduction

This chapter is a thorough investigation of his close students, twelve in all, keeping in mind that there must have been more as ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī was reported to have taught at least in Mecca and Zabīd, both cities regarded as highly esteemed centres for traditional Islamic learning during the period under study. Apart from providing information on his scholarly discourse, as was the case in the study of his teachers, this section also discusses the types of knowledge he transmitted, inspired and instructed, and further historical information on his life.

This section may be considered somewhat ambitious due to the fact that there are no studies discussing this area. The initial difficulty faced when conducting this kind of research is that al-Falimbānī himself does not mention his student's names in any of his works. Secondly, only glimpses that appear scattered throughout numerous genres of works in both Malay and Arabic allow us to trace his network of students and their locations. These have to be drawn together to make this a relatively cohesive account. This will be done by classifying al-Falimbānī's students by location.

### Al-Falimbānī in Mecca

The numerous writings on *isnāds* of al-Fādānī, apart from revealing several teachers of al-Falimbānī unknown to previous studies, also tell us those scholars who learned from him and hence were among his disciples. From these *isnāds*, I have been able to collect several names of scholars who studied directly with him, such as Nawawī al-Bantanī, ‘Uthmān ad-Dimyāṭī, ‘Abd al-Ghanī al-Bīmāwī, Fāṭimah

al-Falimbāniyyah (his daughter), ‘Abd al-Mannān at-Tarmasī, Ṣāliḥ as-Samārānī, Arshad al-Banjārī, Maḥmūd b. Kinān al-Falimbānī, and Jarjis (or Jirjis) al-Mūṣilī.

It is fortunate that for most of these later generations of *Jāwī* scholars, their biographical notices are available in Arabic biographical writings, which further assist us in analysing their connections in the scholarly networks. It is important to note that biographical notices for al-Falimbānī's *Jāwī* colleagues in Arabic sources are extremely rare, to an extent that he was the only *Jāwī* scholar of his period that I found to have independent notices devoted to him in Arabic biographical writings. This, as I have highlighted earlier, reflects his prominent position and esteemed teaching career as a highly regarded *Jāwī* scholar of his time in the Arab world, especially in Zabīd.

Perhaps, one of al-Falimbānī's students who benefited greatly from him was [Abū ‘Abd al-Mu‘ṭī] Muḥammad Nawawī b. ‘Umar b. ‘Arabī al-Jāwī al-Bantanī ash-Shāfi‘ī al-Makkī (1230-1314/1814-96), better known in modern times as Shaykh Nawawī Banten.<sup>1</sup> According to his close student, the Indian by birth, and a historian and *muḥaddith*, ‘Abd as-Sattār b. ‘Abd al-Waḥḥāb al-Bakrī aṣ-Ṣiddīqī ad-Dihlawī al-Makkī (1286-1355/1870-1936), Nawawī al-Bantanī was born in his home country in Banten, Western Java on a Monday, in 1230/1814 and travelled to Mecca at a very young age,<sup>2</sup> and according to a modern study, had left his hometown around 1245/1829 at the age of fifteen.<sup>3</sup>

Nawawī al-Bantanī was a great scholar (*al-‘allāmah*), *al-‘ālim al-jalīl* (a sublime savant), *al-fahhāmah* (astute), *muḥassir* (an expositor of Qur’ān), a *Ṣūfī* and a Shāfi‘ī jurist.<sup>4</sup> Apart from al-Falimbānī, al-Bantanī later studied with numerous Arab professors of his period, such as Sayyid Aḥmad b. ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān ash-Shāfi‘ī al-Makkī, better known as Aḥmad an-Naḥrāwī (1210-91/1795-1874), Aḥmad ad-Dimyāṭī (d. 1270/1853 in Medina), the Shāfi‘ī *muḥfi* of Mecca, and Muḥammad Ḥasab Allāh (1233-1335/1817-1916).<sup>5</sup> In addition, al-Fādānī also includes Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ b. Ibrāhīm ar-Ra’īs az-Zamzamī (d. 1240/1824) among his teachers from whom he received one of the most popular Prophetic tradition, ‘*innamā ‘l-a‘māl bi ‘n-niyyāt, wa-innamā likulli ‘imri’ in mā nawā*’ (actions are defined by intentions, and to every person what he intends).<sup>6</sup> The latter, as noted earlier, in turn had learned from al-Falimbānī's teachers, including



his father Ibrāhīm az-Zamzamī, ‘Alī al-Wanā’ī and Aḥmad al-‘Aṭṭār.<sup>7</sup> However, on examining the year of death of az-Zamzamī and arrival of al-Bantanī, assuming that his date of arrival was given correctly, it is unlikely that they met in Mecca. Therefore, perhaps he must have received this *ḥadīth* indirectly by way of *ijāzah* by correspondence.

Apart from studying in Mecca, al-Bantanī also travelled to Medina where he studied *ḥadīth* with Muḥammad Khaṭīb Dūmā al-Ḥanbalī and received from him the *al-ḥadīth al-musalsal bi ‘d-Dimashqiyyīn*. From Medina, he frequently travelled to Egypt and Syria to further his studies and to gain benefits from its scholars.<sup>8</sup>

In his unpublished *ijāzah* granted to ‘Abd as-Sattār al-Bakrī, al-Bantanī provides a concise list of some of his teachers and their teachers; however, he limits himself to listing only seven of the most recent Arab professors he attended. They were, in addition to an-Naḥrāwī and ad-Dimyāṭī, ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd ad-Dāghistānī (d. 1301/1883), Yūsuf b. ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān as-Sinbillāwaynī (*nisbah* to as-Sinbillāwayn in Egypt, d. 1285/1868 in Mecca), ‘Umar b. Muḥammad Barakāt al-Biqā’ī (1245-1313/1829-96), ‘Alī b. Aḥmad ar-Rahbīnī (d. 1293/1876 in Istanbul) and ‘Umar al-Jibrīnī.<sup>9</sup> It is unfortunate that al-Bantanī only includes his most recent teachers, which otherwise would perhaps have given us a better knowledge of his earlier *Jāwī* teachers, among whom al-Falimbānī himself would figure.

The Dutch scholar, Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje during his sojourn in Arabia between 1884-1885 met Nawawī al-Bantanī in Mecca, whom he described as the most renowned *Jāwī* doctor of divinity, who memorised the Qur’ān perfectly.<sup>10</sup> Snouck mentioned two of his *Jāwī* teachers, Khaṭīb Sambas, who in most probability was Aḥmad Khaṭīb b. ‘Abd al-Ghaṭṭār al-Jāwī as-Sambasī (1217-89/1802-72),<sup>11</sup> and ‘Abd al-Ghanī Bima, who must have been ‘Abd al-Ghanī b. Ṣubḥ al-Jāwī al-Bīmāwī (d. 1270/1853), who was reported to lived over a hundred years.<sup>12</sup>

However, as we can see in al-Fādānī’s writings, most of his *isnāds* for various Islamic sciences that he studied with his *Jāwī* teachers virtually include Nawawī al-Bantanī as part of the chain, and he in turn learned it with ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī.<sup>13</sup> This indicates that al-Falimbānī was one of al-Bantanī’s important *Jāwī* teachers.

The Islamic sciences that al-Bantanī studied with al-Falimbānī include literatures on *ḥadīth* such as *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, Imām Mālik's *al-Muwaṭṭa'*, *Musnad ash-Shāfi'*, *Musnad Aḥmad*, as-Suyūṭī's *al-Jāmi' aṣ-Ṣaghīr*, and its commentary, *Fayḍ al-Qadīr Sharḥ al-Jāmi' aṣ-Ṣaghīr* by al-Munāwī (d. 1031/1621). On *sīrah* he read at-Tirmidhī's *ash-Shamā'il*; on *tafsīr* he read al-Khāzin's (d. 725/1324) *Lubāb at-Ta'wīl fī Ma'ānī at-Tanzīl*, and *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*, composed by the two 'al-Jalāls': Jalāl ad-Dīn al-Mahallī (d. 864/1459) who wrote half of it, and his student, Jalāl ad-Dīn as-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), who completed it after his teacher's death. On *tawḥīd* he read Abū Ja'far aṭ-Ṭaḥāwī's (d. 321/933) *al-'Aqīdat aṭ-Ṭaḥāwiyyah*, Ibn al-Jawzī's (d. 597/1201) *Daḥṣh Shubah at-Tashbīh bi-Akuff at-Tanzīl*, as-Sanūsī's (d. 895/1490) *Umm al-Barāhīn* and Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb's (d. 1206/1792) *Kitāb at-Tawḥīd fī Ḥaq Allāh 'alā 'l-'Abīd*.

On '*ulūm al-Qur'ān*', al-Bantanī read Abū 'Amr ad-Dānī's (d. 444/1052) *at-Taysīr fī al-Qirā'āt as-Sab'*; on *fiqh* he read Ibn al-Wardī's (d. 749/1349) *Bahjat al-Ḥāwī*, Muḥib ad-Dīn aṭ-Ṭabarī's (d. 684/1295) *al-Qirā li-Qāsidī Umm al-Qurā*, Ismā'īl al-Muqrī's (d. 837/1433) *ar-Rawḍ wa 'l-Irshād*, Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī's (d. 974/1566) *al-Minhāj al-Qawīm*, a commentary on Bā-Faḍl's (d. 918/1512) *al-Muqaddimah al-Ḥaḍramiyyah*, and Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī's *al-Ḥawāshī al-Madaniyyah*, his glosses on *al-Minhāj al-Qawīm*.

As for *taṣawwuf*, al-Bantanī studied Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh's (d. 709/1309) *al-Ḥikam* and *at-Tanwīr fī Isqāṭ at-Tadbīr*, and Ibn al-'Arabī's (d. 638/1240) *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyyah*, all three were advanced books on Ṣūfism. The list goes on with other Islamic sciences including grammar and history. From this list, it is certain that al-Falimbānī possessed a thorough knowledge and was a profound scholar of various branches of Islamic disciplines, especially *taṣawwuf*, so that he was able to teach advanced books to his students. It also indicates that Nawawī al-Bantanī must have spent a substantial time studying all these works with him. Above all, this clearly suggests that al-Falimbānī was still alive by the time al-Bantanī reached Mecca around 1245/1829 and that he was able to meet and study with him.

Nawawī al-Bantanī lived in the vicinity of al-Ḥaram, in a quarter called Shi'b 'Alī (the Gap of 'Alī). Apart from lecturing at his *madrasah*,

he also gave regular lectures at his house, which would be crowded with no less than two hundred students at a time.<sup>14</sup> His students were mainly fellow *Jāwīs*, and many of them later became *kiyais* (religious teachers) of many *pesantrens* (traditional Islamic educational institutions) in the Archipelago.<sup>15</sup> Some of Nawawī al-Bantanī's students later became scholars of *al-Ḥaramayn* and thus in turn became teachers to later *Jāwī* scholars. For instance, three of his students, *al-mu'ammār* Jam'ān b. Sāmūn al-Jāwī at-Tanqarānī (d. 1381/1962),<sup>16</sup> who read with him among others his *al-Munīr fī 't-Tafsīr*, *al-mu'ammār* Sayyid 'Alī b. 'Alī al-Ḥabshī al-Madanī (1255-1353/1839-1934), and the aforementioned Meccan historian and *muḥaddith*, 'Abd as-Sattār b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Bakrī, were scholars of *al-Ḥaramayn*. All three, later became teachers to al-Fādānī.<sup>17</sup>

Nawawī al-Bantanī was one of the most ubiquitous *Jāwī* authors who have numerous works attributed to him and is said to have written at least one hundred works.<sup>18</sup> He wrote in both Arabic and Malay, having no less than twenty-eight titles in Arabic listed to his name.<sup>19</sup> Among his works that were not listed by his biographer are his unpublished manuscript copy of the life history (*sīrah*) of the Prophet SAW entitled *al-Munā wa 's-Sūl fī Mawlid ar-Rasūl SAW*, and the aforementioned *ijāzah* which he wrote for 'Abd as-Sattār al-Bakrī.<sup>20</sup>

As already mentioned, 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal tells us that al-Falimbānī inclined towards Ṣūfism and directed most of his attention to studying and teaching al-Ghazālī's *al-Iḥyā'*. He began to enjoin his students and colleagues to occupy themselves with this book and glorify its significance, and frequently highlighted its virtues and benefits. This is clearly noticeable in al-Bantanī himself as he only introduces his students to the works of Ṣūfīs with whom ethics predominates over the occult elements of mysticism, such as the works of al-Ghazālī. His moderate perception of Ṣūfism is further evident from his literary activity in his commentary on al-Ghazālī's *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah* entitled *Marāqī al-'Ubūdiyyah Sharḥ 'alā Bidāyat al-Hidāyah*, completed on 13 Dhū al-Qa'dah 1289/12 January 1873, and his commentary on Zayn ad-Dīn al-Malībārī's mystic poem entitled *Salālim al-Fuḍalā' 'alā al-Manẓūmah al-musammāh Hidāyat al-Adhkiyā' ilā Ṭarīq al-Awliyā'*, completed on 13 Jumādā al-Ūlā 1293/6 June 1876.<sup>21</sup> In this commentary, al-Bantanī



provides a short biography of al-Malībārī telling us that he is Zayn ad-Dīn b. 'Alī b. Aḥmad ash-Shāfi'ī, born in Malabar, southern India, on a Thursday, 12 Sha'bān 871/19 March 1467. He was brought to Fanān at a very young age by his uncle Zayn ad-Dīn b. Aḥmad, where he later died on 16 Sha'bān 928/11 July 1522.<sup>22</sup> It is worth noting that this Zayn ad-Dīn al-Malībārī is not to be confused with his grandson who carries the same name, Zayn ad-Dīn b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Zayn ad-Dīn al-Malībārī ash-Shāfi'ī (d. 987/1579), renowned chiefly for his acclaimed Shāfi'ī *fiqh* work entitled *Faṭḥ al-Mu'īn bi-Sharḥ Qurrat al-'Ayn bi-Muhimmāt ad-Dīn*. In addition to his moderate *Ṣūfī* teachings, al-Bantanī does not counsel his students to join any *ṭarīqah*; however, at the same time he does not prevent them from doing so.<sup>23</sup>

It is also important to highlight that an-Nawawī was among the *Jāwī* intellectuals who showed their discontent with Dutch encroachment in the Malay Archipelago. His anti-Dutch sentiment is obvious from Snouck Hurgronje's account, as he relates that an-Nawawī rejoices in the difficulties caused by Aceh to the colonial Dutch Government, and in his conversation, disagrees with his compatriots who held that the *Jāwah* lands must necessarily be governed by Europeans. Snouck adds that the resurgence of an independent Islamic state, or restoration of the Banten sultanate, would be applauded joyously regardless whether the insurrection followed according to the Islamic Law or took the zealous fanatical approach. However, an-Nawawī did not seek a political role nor did he counsel such to others, and would never serve the infidel government even as *penghulu* (chieftain) as what was done by his father and brother.<sup>24</sup>

The next student of al-Falimbānī in Mecca was the Egyptian 'Uthmān b. Ḥasan ad-Dimyāṭī ash-Shāfi'ī al-Azharī al-Miṣrī al-Makkī.<sup>25</sup> He was born and raised in Dimyāṭ, Egypt in 1197/1782 where he studied with its scholars.<sup>26</sup> One of his closest students, the Shāfi'ī *muftī* of Mecca, Aḥmad b. Zaynī Daḥlān (1231-1304/1815-86) regards him as "the seal of self-realized scholars and the gist of the pious who have attained their destination" (*khātimat al-'ulamā' al-muḥaqqiqīn wa-khulāṣat ahl Allāh al-wāṣilīn*). According to al-Kattānī, Daḥlān later compiles his teacher's biography in a separate work; however, he did not provide us with the title.<sup>27</sup>



‘Uthmān ad-Dimyāṭī then moved to Cairo in 1212/1797 where he attended different circles held by leading scholars of al-Azhar at that time. It is important to observe his age when he moved to Cairo, as he was only fifteen at that time but was already equipped to pursue his advanced studies. In Cairo, he studied under a few notable teachers such as Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ‘Arafah ad-Dasūqī al-Ashmūnī (d. 1230/1815), Muḥammad al-Mahdī (d. 1230/1815), Aḥmad ad-Damanhujī, al-Bakhātī, Aḥmad aṭ-Ṭaḥṭāwī (d. 1231/1816), Ḥasan b. Darwīsh al-Quwaysinī (d. 1254/1838), Muṣṭafā aṣ-Ṣafawī al-Qal‘awī ash-Shāfi‘ī (1158-1230/1745-1815), from whom he received *ḥadīth al-awwaliyah*, Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Maṣṣūr ash-Shanawānī (d. 1233/1817), Muḥammad al-Amīr al-Kabīr (1154-1232/1741-1816) and the ‘Shaykh al-Islām’ of Egypt, ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥijāzī b. Ibrāhīm ash-Sharqāwī (1150-1227/1737-1812).<sup>28</sup>

The last three scholars, ash-Shanawānī, al-Amīr al-Kabīr and ash-Sharqāwī were students of prominent scholars of previous generations such as Muḥammad al-Ḥifnī, and on the other hand, were leading scholars of Egypt at the turn of the nineteenth century. Each of these three scholars authored the acclaimed *thabats*: al-Amīr al-Kabīr’s *Thabat al-Amīr*, ash-Shanawānī’s *ad-Durar as-Saniyyah* and ash-Sharqāwī’s *al-Jāmi‘ al-Ḥāwī*.<sup>29</sup> These three *thabats* became significant in authoritative transmissions of religious works and consequently most scholars of later generations mark them as referral points for their *isnāds*. According to al-Kattānī, ‘Uthmān ad-Dimyāṭī who also possessed a *thabat* relates that he transmitted Islamic religious sciences generally from these three scholars linking his authority through their acclaimed *thabats*.<sup>30</sup>

It appears that after completing his education in Egypt, later in his life ‘Uthmān ad-Dimyāṭī migrated to Mecca or, in Aḥmad al-Ḥaḍrawī’s terms, he was *nazīl al-Ḥaram* where he was very active in learning and teaching.<sup>31</sup> On the account of his migration, ‘Abd as-Sattār al-Bakrī reports that ad-Dimyāṭī travelled to Mecca in 1248/1832 after he received spiritual guidance in a dream. He adds that he was a fluent, eloquent and praiseworthy, leading, ascetic scholar and a *faqīh*, a *muḥaddith* and *mufasssir* who was fond of solitude and avoided audience with the elite (*wa-kān faṣīḥan, balīghan, fāḍilan, ra’īsan, zāhidan, faqīhan, muḥaddithan, mufasssiran, yuḥib al-‘uzlah wa-‘adam al-ijtimā‘ bi*

*l-akābir*). ‘Uthmān ad-Dimyāṭī died in Mecca in 1265/1848 and was interred at al-Ma‘lā burial ground.<sup>32</sup>

From the dates of his travels, it is highly plausible that ad-Dimyāṭī only met al-Falimbānī in Mecca after 1248/1832. Further accounts on his early scholarship apparently indicate that ad-Dimyāṭī did not travel outside Egypt prior to this date. For instance, on *al-musalsal bi l-qasam bi-Allāh al-‘Azīm* or the successive chain of the *ḥadīth* narrated on swearing by the Divine name, he relates that he received this *ḥadīth* from his teacher ‘Abd al-Mun‘im b. Aḥmad al-‘Imādī al-Azharī in Egypt on Dhū al-Qa‘dah 1207/June 1793.<sup>33</sup> Apparently, he was only ten when he started his *ḥadīth* studies. Later on, in al-Azhar in 1215/1801, he received *al-ḥadīth al-musalsal bi-yawm al-‘īd* from al-Azharī.<sup>34</sup> ‘Uthmān ad-Dimyāṭī also points out that he received *al-ḥadīth al-musalsal bi-qirā‘at Sūrat aṣ-Ṣaff* of the Qur‘ān from ‘Abd al-Mun‘im al-Azharī, when he read him this chapter after the *‘ishā’* (night) prayer at al-Azhar Mosque on 12 Jumādā al-Ūlā 1219/19 August 1804.<sup>35</sup>

Among his leading students were the two successive Shāfi‘ī *muftīs* of Mecca who both died in Medina, his nephew Aḥmad ad-Dimyāṭī (d. 1270/1853), and Aḥmad Daḥlān (d. 1304/1886), Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Khānī ad-Dimashqī and Muḥammad b. Sulaymān Ḥasab Allāh (d. 1335/1916).<sup>36</sup> In addition, al-Fādānī furnished us with a list of students who studied with ad-Dimyāṭī including several *Jāwī* scholars. Among them, Sayyid ‘Uthmān b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Aqīl b. Yaḥyā al-‘Alawī al-Batāwī (1237-1331/1822-1913),<sup>37</sup> an Arab scholar who was born and died in Batavia (now Jakarta) and became its *muftī*, ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Zakariyyā al-Kuningānī al-Jākartāwī, Muḥammad Khalīl b. ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Jāwī al-Bankalānī al-Mādūrī, Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Khaṭīb al-Jāwī al-Minkābāwī (d. 1334/1916) and Zayn ad-Dīn b. Badawī al-Jāwī aṣ-Ṣūmbāwī.<sup>38</sup> However, upon examining evidence for these scholars, I am doubtful that some of them were indeed his students. For instance, according to his biographer, Aḥmad al-Khaṭīb al-Minkābāwī was born in Bukittinggi, West Sumatra in 1276/1860 and departed for Mecca at the age of eleven in 1287/1870.<sup>39</sup> Thus, it is hardly plausible that he was his student because at the time of ad-Dimyāṭī’s death (1265/1848), al-Minkābāwī had not been born.

From ad-Dimyāṭī's *isnāds*, we can observe that among the subjects he studied with al-Falimbānī were *ḥadīth* such as Abū Dāwūd's *as-Sunan* and Ibn Mājah's *as-Sunan*; *fiqh* such as Abū Ishāq ash-Shīrāzī's (d. 476/1083) *al-Muḥadhdhab*; Arabic grammar such as al-Jurjānī's (d. 471/1078) *al-Awāmil al-Mi'ah*, az-Zamakhsharī's (d. 538/1143) *Kitāb al-Mufaṣṣal*, 'Iṣām ad-Dīn al-Isfīrā'ī's (d. 943/1536) *Ḥāshiyat Sharḥ al-Jāmi' alā 'l-Kāfiyah*, al-Ḥaṭṭāb ar-Ru'aynī's (d. 954/1547) *Mutammimat al-Ājrūmiyyah*, az-Zanjānī's (d. 655/1257) *at-Taṣrīf*, better known as *at-Taṣrīf al-'Izzī* and as-Suyūṭī's *al-Muzhir fī 'Ulūm al-Lughah wa-Anwā'ihā*; on *ṭabaqāt* he studied ash-Sha'rānī's *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-Ṣūfiyyah*, and finally, he received the authority to transmit the *fiqh* works of ash-Shāfi'ī School of Islamic jurisprudence (*sanad al-fiqh ash-Shāfi'ī*).<sup>40</sup>

It is important to note the peculiarity of this *fiqh isnād* in that it includes leading scholars of the Shāfi'ī *madhhab* and renowned authors of Shāfi'ī *fiqh* books from recent to earlier times. Among them, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd ash-Shirwānī, Ibrāhīm al-Bājūrī, 'Abd Allāh ash-Sharqāwī, Muḥammad al-Ḥifnī, 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī, Aḥmad an-Nakhlī, 'Abd al-'Azīz az-Zamzamī, Muḥammad b. 'Alā' ad-Dīn al-Bābīlī, Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī, Shihāb ad-Dīn ar-Ramlī, al-Khaṭīb ash-Sharbīnī, 'Shaykh al-Islām' Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī, Jalāl ad-Dīn al-Maḥallī, Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Bulqīnī, Zayn ad-Dīn al-'Irāqī, 'Imām al-Madhab' an-Nawawī, Abū 'Amr Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ, 'Ḥujjat al-Islām' al-Ghazālī, Abū Ishāq ash-Shīrāzī, Abū Ishāq al-Marwazī, Ismā'īl al-Muzanī and finally Imām ash-Shāfi'ī. From the latter, it continues to include Imām Mālik, Rabī'ah, Nāfi' and the two companions Anas <sup>radīyallāhu 'anhu</sup> and Ibn 'Umar <sup>radīyallāhu 'anhu</sup> who received their instructions from the Prophet SAW.

It is also important to highlight that in this *isnād*, ad-Dimyāṭī relates that he “studied the Shāfi'ī *fiqh* books with 'Abd Allāh ash-Sharqāwī and Muḥammad ash-Shanawānī in Egypt, and with al-Falimbānī in Mecca” (*arwīhi 'an 'Abd Allāh ash-Sharqāwī wa Muḥammad ash-Shanawānī bi-Miṣr, wa-'an 'l-mu'ammār 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Falimbānī bi-Makkah*).<sup>41</sup> In addition, it is worth noting that from ad-Dimyāṭī's *isnāds*, most of the books that he read with al-Falimbānī apart from *fiqh* were on grammar. This perhaps supports the conclusion that al-Falimbānī also mastered the grammar or Arabic language and that he was equally competent to teach it to his Arab students.



The next from the list of al-Falimbānī's students is 'Abd al-Ghanī b. Ṣubḥ b. Ismā'īl al-Jāwī al-Bīmāwī, mentioned earlier as a teacher of Nawawī al-Bantanī.<sup>42</sup> All biographers of 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Bīmāwī agree that he was born in the Archipelago and later travelled to *al-Ḥaramayn* to advance his studies, though no dates are provided.

In Mecca, he studied with learned noble scholars (*al-'ulamā' al-afāḍil*) such as Sayyid Muḥammad (d. 1261/1845) and Sayyid Aḥmad (1205-81/1790-1864), the author of *Manẓūmat 'Aqīdat al-'Awām*, sons of Ramaḍān b. Maṣṣūr al-Marzūqī, Muḥammad Sa'īd al-Qudsī (d. 1260/1844), the Shāfi'ī *mufī* of Mecca and 'Uthmān b. Ḥasan ad-Dimyāṭī. After completing his studies, he was granted the license to teach in al-Ḥarām Mosque that most *Jāwī 'ulamā'* of later generations graduated under him (*takharraja 'alayhi akthar 'ulamā' al-Jāwā*).<sup>43</sup>

Among al-Bīmāwī's students were, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Muḥammad 'Alī al-Jāwī Quds (d. 1334/1915),<sup>44</sup> Muḥammad b. Rashīd al-Jāwī aṣ-Ṣūmbāwī, Maḥfūz b. 'Abd Allāh al-Jāwī at-Tarmasī (d. 1338/1920), Muḥammad b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Marzūqī (d. 1365/1945), better known as Abū Ḥusayn, Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Mukhallalātī an Egyptian (d. 1362/1943), and Khalīfah b. Ḥamd an-Nabhānī (d. 1320/1902).<sup>45</sup> In addition, 'Abd as-Sattār al-Bakrī also included another renowned *Jāwī* scholar who was the Qādiriyyah *Ṣūfī* shaykh among his students. He is Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Ghaḥfār b. 'Abd Allāh al-Jāwī as-Sambasī (1217-89/1802-72) better known as Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas, who migrated to Mecca at the age of nineteen in 1236/1820. It is worth noting that Khaṭīb Sambas also studied with earlier generations of Meccan professors such as the already mentioned Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ ar-Ra'īs az-Zamzamī, 'Umar 'Abd ar-Rasūl al-'Aṭṭār and 'Abd al-Ḥāfiẓ al-'Ujaymī and later generations, including 'Uthmān ad-Dimyāṭī and Sayyid Aḥmad al-Marzūqī.<sup>46</sup> Perhaps, it is Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas who was intended by al-Fādānī earlier when he mistakenly listed Aḥmad al-Khaṭīb al-Minkābāwī as ad-Dimyāṭī's student, as both carry the same name and appellation. In addition, Khaṭīb Sambas period of study in Mecca coincided with that of ad-Dimyāṭī, therefore, it can be expected that he met and studied with him.

His biographer, 'Abd Allāh Mirdād (1285-1343/1868-1924) reported that al-Bīmāwī died in Mecca around 1270/1853 and was



buried at the Ma‘lā cemetery. By contrast, Mamdūh tells us that al-Bīmāwī died in 1320/1902.<sup>47</sup> However, this is hardly plausible as Snouck Hurgronje relates that ‘Abd al-Ghanī al-Bīmāwī was among scholars of the previous generation that had departed before he arrived in Mecca (1884-85).<sup>48</sup> Though al-Bīmāwī’s year of birth is unknown, from his *isnāds*, he was reported to have been a *mu‘ammar* (long-lived) who survived over a hundred years.<sup>49</sup> Thus, by calculating backwards, we can deduce that he must have been born around the mid of the eighteenth century approximately in 1170/1756, hence, very plausible to have been a student of al-Falimbānī.

Among the books that al-Bīmāwī read with al-Falimbānī were, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* and al-‘Ajlūnī’s *‘Iqd al-Jawhar ath-Thamīn*, on *ḥadīth*, Bā-Faḍl’s *al-Muqaddimah al-Ḥaḍramiyyah* on *fiqh*. On Arabic grammar, he read the work of the celebrated grammarian, Sībawayh’s (d. 180/796) *Kitāb Sībawayh* and Ibn ‘Aqīl’s (d. 769/1367) commentary on the acclaimed *al-Alfiyyah* of Ibn Mālik (d. 672/1273).<sup>50</sup> Perhaps, further details of his teachers and the subjects he studied with them can be found in his *thabat* entitled *al-Ḥāwī fī Asānīd al-Bīmāwī*.<sup>51</sup> However, unfortunately, even after extensive search, I find no manuscript or printed edition of this work.

Rather special amongst al-Falimbānī’s students was his own daughter, Fāṭimah bint ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbāniyyah.<sup>52</sup> Unfortunately, I have not been able to find any account of her life from our numerous Arabic biographical dictionaries. Nevertheless, by analysing her scholarly connections, it is apparent that she was one of the active scholars of the period, at least among the *Jāwīs*. She studied mostly with her father and became primarily acquainted with *ḥadīth* study and was given the honorific title ‘ash-Shaykhah al-Musnidah.’ This appellation perhaps finds support in Fāṭimah al-Falimbāniyyah’s own *thabat*, entitled *al-Fahāris al-Qā’imah fī Asānīd Fāṭimah*.<sup>53</sup> According to Mamdūh, the *al-Fahāris al-Qā’imah* was dictated by al-Falimbāniyyah in Mecca to one of her closest students, Muḥammad Arshad b. As‘ad al-Bantanī a.k.a. Arshad aṭ-Ṭawīl (literarily, the tall Arshad).<sup>54</sup>

Arshad aṭ-Ṭawīl was born in Manis, Banten on 18 Dhū al-Qa‘dah 1255/22 January 1840. Upon his father’s request, at the age of eight he was brought to *al-Ḥaramayn* in 1263/1846 to live with him in Mecca. On

his arrival, under the guidance of his father, he received the *ijāzah* from ‘Uthmān ad-Dimyātī, the aforementioned student of al-Falimbānī. Arshad aṭ-Ṭawīl also studied with Nawawī al-Bantanī, the already mentioned student of al-Falimbānī and as we shall see shortly, was a student of his daughter Fāṭimah.<sup>55</sup>

On his return to Banten in 1311/1893, accused of his involvement in the political unrest, Arshad was detained by the Dutch and exiled to Manado, Makassar. He attempted in vain to return to Mecca and Banten and later died in exile on the 4 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1353/10 March 1935 at the age of ninety-eight. Arshad aṭ-Ṭawīl is reported to have compiled a list of his teachers in his *thabat* entitled *ath-Thabat al-Kabīr* and because of his *al-isnād al-‘ālī* and his prolonged life, later generations who were heedful of the nature of his extremely high narration (*riwāyatuhu ‘āliyah jiddan*) flocked to study with him.<sup>56</sup>

Apart from Arshad aṭ-Ṭawīl, al-Falimbāniyyah students also included Nawawī al-Bantanī who read with her *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, Aḥmad ad-Dimyātī the aforementioned Shāfi‘ī *muftī* in Mecca, Muḥammad Nūr b. Ismā‘īl al-Minkābawī and Muḥammad Azharī b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Jāwī al-Falimbānī, the author of *Badī‘ az-Zamān fī Bayān ‘Aqā’id ‘l-Īmān*.<sup>57</sup> The latter read with her two works of Arabic grammar, Ibn Hishām’s (d. 761/1359) *Awḍaḥ al-Masālik ilā Alfiyyah Ibn Mālik*, better known as *at-Tawḍīḥ* and *Mughnī al-Labīb ‘an Kutub al-‘Ārīb*.<sup>58</sup> Fāṭimah al-Falimbāniyyah in turn studied all these works with her father al-Falimbānī.

The next student of al-Falimbānī, ‘Abd al-Mannān b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Jāwī at-Tarmasī (d. 1278/1862),<sup>59</sup> was the grandfather of Muḥammad Maḥfūz b. ‘Abd Allāh at-Tarmasī (1285-1338/1868-1920). Maḥfūz at-Tarmasī himself was a noted *Jāwī* scholar of a later period, especially in *fiqh* and *ḥadīth* that al-Fādānī describes him as ‘*al-muḥaddith al-musnid al-faqīh*.’<sup>60</sup> Maḥfūz at-Tarmasī’s list of teachers and the works that he read with them are listed in his acclaimed *thabat* entitled *Kifāyat al-Mustafīd*.<sup>61</sup>

Though no biographical notice of ‘Abd al-Mannān is available from our Arabic biographical dictionaries, his *isnād* shows that he was a noted scholar who formed part of the scholarly networks and played an important role in transmitting the Islamic traditions to later generations.

One of his closest students was his son, ‘Abd Allāh at-Tarmasī (d. 1314/1896) who in turn was a teacher and a prop (‘*umdaḥ*) to his son, Maḥfūz at-Tarmasī. Thus, one can see through ‘Abd al-Mannān that the teachings of al-Falimbānī is handed down further to later generations.

‘Abd al-Mannān at-Tarmasī studied with al-Falimbānī *ḥadīth* books such as *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, ad-Dārquṭnī’s (d. 385/995) *Sunan*, an-Nawawī’s *al-Arba‘ūn* and *Riyāḍ aṣ-Ṣāliḥīn*. On *tafsīr* he studied al-Bayḍāwī’s (d. 685/1286) *Anwār at-Tanzīl*, better known as *Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī*; on *fiqh*, ash-Sharbīnī’s (d. 977/1569) *Mughnī al-Muḥtāj Sharḥ al-Minhāj*; on *balāghah* (rhetoric) he studied at-Taftāzānī’s (d. 791/1388) *Mukhtaṣar al-Ma‘ānī ‘alā Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ* and *al-Muṭawwal fī Sharḥ Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ*. However, by looking at the number of books he studied with al-Falimbānī, it is probable that at-Tarmasī only met him in the last years of his life.

In addition to studying with al-Falimbānī, ‘Abd al-Mannān at-Tarmasī also studied *fiqh* with Sayyid Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd Shaṭā ad-Dimyātī al-Makkī (d. 1266/1849) and the ‘Shaykh al-Azhar’ Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Bājūrī (1198-1277/1783-1860).<sup>62</sup> Both in turn were students of earlier generations of leading Egyptian scholars such as ‘Abd Allāh ash-Sharqāwī and al-Amīr al-Kabīr.

Another student of al-Falimbānī was Ṣāliḥ b. ‘Umar as-Samārānī (1235-1321/1820-1903),<sup>63</sup> who among younger *Jāwī* ‘*ulamā*’, was given the sobriquet of *al-Ghazālī aṣ-Ṣaghīr* (the little or young al-Ghazālī).<sup>64</sup> However, in the Malay Archipelago he is better known as Ṣāliḥ Darat. He was born in Jepara, in the province of Central Java, Indonesia where he was raised by his father ‘Umar who was a religious scholar. According to local oral tradition, ‘Umar was one of the ‘*ulamā*’ who supported the Javanese Prince Diponegoro in his uprising against the Dutch colonial rule. Diponegoro played an important role in the Java War (1825-30). However, he was defeated in 1830 and the Dutch exiled him to Makassar.<sup>65</sup>

After Diponegoro’s defeat, ‘Umar took his son Ṣāliḥ to Singapore, thence Mecca, where Ṣāliḥ stayed several years studying. He was called back to Java by Murtadlo (Murtaḍā), a companion of his father in the Diponegoro rebellion, who made him his son-in-law. Ṣāliḥ as-Samārānī was renowned for his anti-Dutch attitude, taught his students to avoid



the Dutch as much as possible, and warned against imitating their ways. He established a *pesantren* in Darat, a mostly Arab-inhabited neighbourhood of Semarang, where he was to spend the rest of his life. He died in Semarang, Central Java on Friday, 28 Ramaḍān 1321/18 December 1903.<sup>66</sup>

Ṣāliḥ as-Samārānī had numerous disciples, some of whom became the leading 'ulamā' of the turn of the century. Among them were his son 'Umar as-Samārānī, a *faqīh* and *muḥaddith*, and the aforementioned Muḥammad Maḥfūz at-Tarmasī, who studied with him among others, *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*, ash-Sharqāwī's commentary on *al-Ḥikam*, *Wasīlat at-Tullāb* [*li-Ma'rifat A'māl al-Layl wa 'n-Nahār bi-Ṭarīq al-Ḥisāb*], and al-Māradīnī's (d. 804/1401) commentary on *ar-Rubu' al-Mujayyab*, both works on 'ilm al-falak (astronomy).<sup>67</sup>

It is not exactly known when Ṣāliḥ as-Samārānī met al-Falimbānī, but from the report of his travel to Mecca at a very young age, it is almost certain that he must have met him after 1245/1830. Among the works he studied with al-Falimbānī were *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, Ibn Taymiyyah's (d. 653/1255) *Muntaqā al-Akḥbār*, ash-Shāfi'ī (d. 204/820) *al-Umm*, ar-Rāfi'ī's (d. 623/1226) *Faṭḥ al-'Azīz Sharḥ al-Wajīz*, an-Nawawī's *al-Minhāj*, *al-Majmū' Sharḥ al-Muḥaddhab*, and *al-Īdāḥ* [*fī Manāsik al-Ḥajj wa 'l-'Umrah*], al-Isfīrā'inī's (d. 943/1536) *al-Aṭwal Sharḥ Talkhīs Miftāḥ al-'Ulūm* and *Sharḥ al-Isti'ārāt*, al-Ḥimṣī's (d. 1061/1650) *Ḥāshiyah Sharḥ al-Fākihī 'alā 'l-Qaṭr*, Badr ad-Dīn al-'Aynī's (d. 855/1451) two commentaries on *ash-Shawāhid*, ash-Suhrawardī's (d. 632/1234) *'Awārif al-Ma'ārif*, Taqī ad-Dīn al-Fāsī's (d. 832/1429) *Tawārīkh Makkah*, *Shifā' al-Gharām bi-Akḥbār al-Balad al-Ḥaram*, and *al-'Iqd ath-Thamīn fī Tārīkh al-Balad al-Amīn*, and Tāj ad-Dīn Ibn as-Subkī's (d. 771/1370) *Ṭabaqāt ash-Shāfi'iyyah*. In turn, he teaches all these works to his son 'Umar.<sup>68</sup>

It is also important to emphasise that al-Falimbānī did not just attract students of his younger compatriots, but also his own generation. According to al-Fādānī's *isnāds*, his contemporary, Arshad b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Banjārī al-Martapurī (1122-1227/1710-1812)<sup>69</sup> also studied numerous works with him.<sup>70</sup> Arshad al-Banjārī himself is certainly one of the important *Jāwī* scholars in the twelfth century A.H./ eighteenth century A.D. who achieved local fame throughout the Malay



Archipelago. He is chiefly known for his acclaimed *fiqh* work entitled *Sabīl al-Muhtadīn li 't-Taḥqīq fī Amr ad-Dīn*.

Apparently, al-Banjārī studied various Islamic disciplines, reading numerous books with al-Falimbānī. These include works on *ḥadīth*, such as *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*; on *tafsīr*, such as Abū al-Barakāt an-Nasafī's (d. 710/1310) *Madārik at-Tanzīl* and Ibn Kathīr's *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'Aẓīm*; on *tawḥīd*, such as aṭ-Ṭaḥāwī's *al-'Aqīdah aṭ-Ṭaḥāwiyyah*; on *'ulūm al-Qur'ān*, such as az-Zarkashī's *al-Burhān fī 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān*; on *'ulūm al-ḥadīth*, such as an-Nawawī's *at-Taqrīb wa 't-Taysīr* and Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī's *Nukhbat al-Fikr* and its commentary entitled *Nuzhat an-Nazar Sharḥ an-Nukhbat*; on *uṣul al-fiqh*, he studied ash-Shirāzī's (d. 476/1083) *al-Luma'* and Imām al-Ḥaramayn al-Juwaynī's (d. 478/1085) *al-Waraqāt*; on *fiqh*, he studied al-Ghazālī's *al-Wajīz*, an-Nawawī's *al-Minhāj*, *al-Majmū' Sharḥ al-Muhadhdhab*, and *al-Īdāh*, Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī's (d. 926/1520) *at-Taḥrīr*, *Manhaj aṭ-Ṭullāb*, *Asnā al-Maṭālib fī Sharḥ Rawḍ aṭ-Ṭālib* and *al-Ghurar al-Baḥiyyah fī Sharḥ Manẓūmat al-Bahjah*, al-Qalyūbī's (d. 1069/1658) *Ḥāshiyah Sharḥ al-Maḥallī 'alā 'l-Minhāj*; on Arabic, he read Ibn Hishām's *Awḍaḥ al-Masālik* and *Mughnī al-Labīb*, Yāsīn al-Ḥimṣī's (d. 1061/1650) *Ḥāshiyah aṭ-Ṭaṣrīḥ 'alā 't-Tawḍīḥ*, al-Ashmūnī's (d. 929/1522) *Sharḥ al-Ashmūnī 'alā Alfīyyah Ibn Mālik*, Ibn Ājrūm aṣ-Ṣanhājī's (d. 723/1323) *al-Ājrūmiyyah* and al-Fayrūzābādī's (d. 818/1415) *al-Qāmūs*; on biography, studied Ibn al-Farrā's (d. 458/1065) *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah*.<sup>71</sup>

Thus, these lists also indicate al-Falimbānī's prominent position as a scholar of great importance in transmitting the religious sciences to his compatriots and his influence to both his students and contemporaries. In addition to studying with al-Falimbānī, al-Banjārī participated him in attending his teachers' teaching sessions. For instance, al-Banjārī follows him studying with some of his earlier mentioned teachers, such as Sālim b. 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī and Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī.<sup>72</sup> Furthermore, al-Banjārī also studied with al-Falimbānī's student, 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal.<sup>73</sup> It is important to note that al-Ahdal, born in 1179/1766 was a much younger contemporary of al-Banjārī. However, as we shall see shortly, al-Ahdal became a prominent Zabīd scholar at a very young age and that students flocked to study with him.

As already mentioned, unlike later *Jāwī* scholars, biographical notices of al-Falimbānī's *Jāwī* contemporaries are extremely rare in Arabic biographical dictionaries. However, occasionally their life report is incidentally mentioned in biographical notices of later generations. For instance, on the biography of 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad Arshad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Banjārī (1285-1370/1868-1951), Mamdūḥ points out that he was the great grandson of Arshad al-Banjārī. He tells us that the latter came from Borneo and dwelled in the vicinity of Mecca in 1191/1777 after his extensive travels to Egypt, Yemen and others. He was survived by his numerous progenies who were renowned for their *'ilm*, uprightness (*ṣalāḥ*) and etiquette (*ādāb*) and among them, 'Alī al-Banjārī.<sup>74</sup>

Apparently, Arshad al-Banjārī also studied in Medina with 'Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān as he himself, like al-Falimbānī, was also appointed as his *khalīfah* for the Sammāniyyah *Ṣūfī* Order. He later promulgated the Sammāniyyah Order in his hometown and was an important transmitting agent who popularized the Order in Banjar.<sup>75</sup>

At this point, it is important to point out that according to al-Fādānī, Nawawī al-Bantanī also studied with Arshad al-Banjārī as well as his son, Yūsuf al-Banjārī. However, based on my investigation, it is hardly plausible that al-Bantanī did study with him because at the time of Arshad al-Banjārī's death (1227/1812), he had not yet been born (1230/1814). Nevertheless, perhaps the name of Yūsuf al-Banjārī was erroneously removed from the *isnād* and made it appear that an-Nawawī studied directly with Arshad al-Banjārī.<sup>76</sup>

Another close student of 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī was Maḥmūd b. Kinān b. Maḥmūd al-Falimbānī.<sup>77</sup> According to al-Fādānī, he was *mua'mmar* (long lived) who survived more than ninety years and was a jurist and a religious person (*al-faqīh al-'ābid*).<sup>78</sup>

Though I have not found any biographical sources that can tell us about his life, the fact that numerous *isnāds* include him as a student of al-Falimbānī show us that he was one of his closest students. Perhaps Maḥmūd was even closer to al-Falimbānī than the earlier mentioned Nawawī al-Bantanī himself. This is because apart from studying with al-Falimbānī, Maḥmūd also studied directly with some of his teachers who include Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Muṣṭafā al-'Aydārūs,

Amr Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Khāliq al-Mizjājī, ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Barr al-Wanā’ī, Muḥammad al-Kuzbarī and Muḥammad b. Sālīm as-Saffārīnī.<sup>79</sup> In turn, al-Bantanī included Maḥmūd among the *Jāwī* teachers with whom he studied.<sup>80</sup>

It is important to point out that Maḥmūd also studied with younger contemporaries of al-Falimbānī such as his Yemeni student, ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal, al-Ahdal’s student, Muḥammad ‘Ābid as-Sindī, Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī, Muḥammad al-Fuḍālī (d. 1236/1820), ‘Abd Allāh ash-Sharqāwī and Ibrāhīm al-Bājūrī.<sup>81</sup> Further analysing al-Falimbānī’s scholarly links with these scholars by tracing their dates of birth, it is clear that they were his younger contemporaries. In fact, if they were to be placed accordingly within the context of their age group, all of them were appropriately positioned as the generation of al-Falimbānī’s students. Moreover, since Maḥmūd studied with them as well as with al-Falimbānī and some of his later teachers, he must have been his younger contemporary.

In addition, as already mentioned in passing, Maḥmūd also studied with the ruler of Palembang, as-Sulṭān aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Badr ad-Dīn Maḥmūd b. as-Sulṭān Maṣṣūr b. as-Sulṭān ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān, who in turn studied with his Qāḍī, known as *Shaykh al-Islām Qāḍī as-Saltanah* Sayyid ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alawī b. Aḥmad al-‘Aydarūs al-Falimbānī. Al-‘Aydarūs in turn studied in Mecca with ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Jād Allāh al-Bannānī al-Maghribī (d. 1198/1784), who was a student of Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ al-Mullawī; an Egyptian teacher of ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī.<sup>82</sup> It appears that Maḥmūd’s father, to some degree, was a religious teacher. According to al-Fādānī, he studied the *Sunan at-Tirmidhī* with his father, Abū al-Azhār Tāj al-Umanā’ Shaykh Kinān b. Maḥmūd al-Falimbānī, who in turn studied with Ṣāliḥ, who in turn studied with his brother, ‘Āqib b. Ḥasan ad-Dīn al-Falimbānī.<sup>83</sup> Looking at this *isnād*, it is again evident that Maḥmūd was a younger contemporary to ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad himself since ‘Āqib was his direct teacher.

It is clear that Maḥmūd later became a transmitter of the teachings of ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī as he teaches them to his students. Among his students other than Nawawī al-Bantanī, were his son ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Falimbānī, Khalīl b. ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Bankalānī al-Madūrī and ‘Abd al-Khāliq b. Zayn ad-Dīn al-Faṭānī.<sup>84</sup> It is worth noting that the latter’s



father, Zayn ad-Dīn b. ‘Abd ar-Raḥīm b. ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Faṭānī was a student of Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī and Dāwūd al-Faṭānī.<sup>85</sup> Not only was Maḥmūd a transmitter for various religious Islamic sciences to the next generations, he played a crucial role in disseminating the Khalwatiyyah Sammāniyyah *Ṣūfī* Order further in the Archipelago. As indicated in the previous chapter, according to the *silsilah* recorded in a manuscript copy of *al-‘Urwat al-Wuthqā*, Maḥmūd received his membership to this Order from ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī, and he in turn initiated his student, Sulaymān of Lambirah, Aceh into this Order.<sup>86</sup> Thus, it is clear that al-Falimbānī's teachings and his influence, especially in *Ṣūfī*sm were handed down from generations to generations through his students.

Another Arab scholar included among al-Falimbānī's student is Sayyid Jarjis Afandī b. Aḥmad Darwīsh al-Kāẓimī al-Mawṣilī (from Mosul, Iraq).<sup>87</sup> My research on Jarjis Afandī in several biographical dictionaries of the period leads to three scholars having the same name; Jarjis al-Mawṣilī, a poet who died in Mosul in 1140 or 1141/1727 or 1728,<sup>88</sup> Jarjis al-Irbilī, who was reported to have been alive in 1178/1764,<sup>89</sup> and Jarjis al-Jawharī al-Qibṭī known as Jarjis Afandī who died in Egypt in 1225/1810.<sup>90</sup> However, from the period he lived, the first Jarjis al-Mawṣilī could not possibly be al-Falimbānī's students as his time was too early. And unfortunately, all biographers in their short biographical notice of the other two remaining scholars, Jarjis al-Irbilī and Jarjis Afandī, do not provide us with any information on their teachers or students that may assist us to examine their scholarly links in that period and establish possible connection with al-Falimbānī.

Conversely, further analysing several *isnāds* of Jarjis al-Mawṣilī, none of the above aforementioned three scholars suit his sketch. Moreover, both al-Fādānī and his student Mukhtār al-Falimbānī indicated that Sayyid Jarjis al-Mawṣilī died in 1197/1782, and unlike the latter, I noticed that none of the previous mentioned scholars was of a Sayyid descendant.<sup>91</sup> According to al-Fādānī, Jarjis al-Mawṣilī recorded a list of his teachers in his *thabat* entitled *Zahr an-Narjis fī Thabat al-‘Allāmah Jarjis*. Among them, Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī al-Madanī, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān, ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Barr al-Wanā’ī, ‘Abd al-Khālīq b. Zayn al-Mizjājī, Sulaymān b. Yaḥyā al-Ahdal az-Zabīdī, Ḥāmid b. ‘Umar al-Manfar at-Tarīmī (d. 1209/1794), and two *Jāwī* scholars,



‘Āqib b. Ḥasan ad-Dīn al-Falimbānī *nazīl* Medina, and ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Falimbānī *nazīl* Mecca.<sup>92</sup> Unfortunately, I have not been able to locate the *Zahr an-Narjis* and even al-Kattānī has not mentioned this work in his *Fahras al-Fahāris*. Perhaps, we could find further information on *Jāwī* scholars during that time from this work. In addition, Jarjis al-Mawṣilī also studied Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī’s *at-Ta’arruf ilā ‘Ilm al-Uṣūl wa ‘l-Taṣrīf* and Bā-Faḍl’s *al-Muqaddimah al-Ḥaḍramiyyah* with Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alā’ ad-Dīn al-Mizjājī (1140-1213/1727-98).<sup>93</sup> Thus, by looking at all the above scholars who were mainly al-Falimbānī’s teachers and peers, Jarjis al-Mawṣilī must have been his contemporary.

In addition, Jarjis al-Mawṣilī close relations with the *Jāwī* scholars can perhaps be deduced from one of his *isnād*. His son Sayyid Khiḍr Afandī al-Mawṣilī, a *muḥaddith* who studied directly with him was reported to have migrated to, and died in Batavia.<sup>94</sup> It is perhaps from his acquaintance with the *Jāwī* scholars and community in *al-Ḥaramayn* that later facilitate the migration of his son to the Archipelago. It is worth noting that his grandson, Sayyid ‘Abd al-Ma’būd Afandī al-Mawṣilī who received his teachings from Khiḍr al-Mawṣilī, also form part of the scholarly networks transmitting the Islamic knowledge further to later generations.<sup>95</sup>

As I had shown earlier, because of his highly revered status as a profound scholar of various Islamic disciplines, al-Falimbānī attracted both Arab students and his compatriots to study with him, to an extent that even his peer, Arshad al-Banjārī, studied with him. Thus, it is more than plausible to consider that most of his younger *Jāwī* contemporaries, if not all, must have studied with him or at least attended his teaching sessions.

On further examining the period during which al-Falimbānī lived, there were several younger *Jāwī* students who at the turn of the nineteenth century became prominent scholars, at least among the *Jāwīs*. Among them, were Nafīs al-Banjārī and Dāwūd al-Faṭānī, who was perhaps the most widely renowned *Jāwī* ‘*ulamā*’ in the Archipelago because of his prolific writings.

In his *ad-Durr an-Nafīs fī Bayān Waḥdat al-Af’āl wa ‘l-Asmā’ wa ‘ṣ-Ṣifāt wa ‘dh-Dhāt, Dhāt at-Taqdīs*, Nafīs al-Banjārī (1148-1245/1735-

1829)<sup>96</sup> provides us with a rather detailed depiction of himself. He says, “the author and compiler of this epistle [the *ad-Durr an-Nafīs*] ... Muḥammad Nafīs b. Idrīs b. al-Ḥusayn al-Banjārī *mansha'an* [by origin or birth] al-Makkī *maskanan* [by domicile] ash-Shāfi'ī *madhhaban* [by doctrine] al-Ash'arī *i'tiqādan* [by dogma] al-Junaydī *imāman*, al-Qādirī *ṭarīqatan*, ash-Shatārī *libāsan*, an-Naqshabandī *'amalan*, al-Khalwatī *maḥ'aman*, wa 's-Sammānī *mashraban* [express that he was an adherent to all these five Ṣūfī Orders].”<sup>97</sup>

Contemporary studies are in agreement that Nafīs al-Banjārī was a friend and colleague of 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī, however, this research suggests that he was most likely his student as well.<sup>98</sup> Nafīs al-Banjārī relates that he completed his *ad-Durr an-Nafīs* in Mecca on the '*ishā*' of Wednesday, 27 Muḥarram 1200/30 November 1785.<sup>99</sup> Although the discussion of al-Falimbānī's works follows shortly in the next chapter, at this stage it is important to highlight that his active literary life extended from 1178/1764 to 1203/1788. Thus, by the time al-Falimbānī was about to conclude his literary output, al-Banjārī, to the contrary, had just begun, two decades after al-Falimbānī started his. This evidence alone indicates that Nafīs al-Banjārī was a much younger contemporary of al-Falimbānī. One can conclude that he was most likely part of the same circle, and as we shall see, had studied with a number of al-Falimbānī's peers.

In his *ad-Durr an-Nafīs*, Nafīs al-Banjārī records several teachers he had studied with such as 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥijāzī ash-Sharqāwī al-Miṣrī, Yūsuf Abū Dhurrah Arzī al-Miṣrī, Ṣiddīq b. 'Umar Khān al-Madanī, 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Maghribī al-'Umarī, and Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Jawharī, whose lecture he attended at al-Ḥarām Mosque, Mecca in 1201/1786.<sup>100</sup> On one occasion, he refers to a Pattani shaykh as 'Shaykh Quṭb ad-Dīn' (religious pole) which, in my opinion, refers to Dāwūd al-Faṭānī, although more research needs to be done to accurately verify this attribution.

Analyzing the names of his teachers above, we can see that he did not meet and study directly with Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān, as he first studied under a number of his senior students and secondly, he addresses him as his teachers' teacher (*shaykh shuyūkhinā*).<sup>101</sup> Furthermore, the teachers Nafīs al-Banjārī listed in his works suggest that

he only studied with scholars who are from al-Falimbānī's generation or later.

The next *Jāwī* scholar mentioned above was Dāwūd b. 'Abd Allāh b. Idrīs al-Faṭānī (1176-1263/1763-1846).<sup>102</sup> His early life and movements are difficult to trace, as was the case of al-Falimbānī himself. The works of Shaghir Abdullah attempt to illuminate this aspect of his life. However, as previously discussed, his study suffers from a number of inconsistencies.<sup>103</sup> Some of these will be discussed below. According to Matheson and Hooker, his education followed a similar pattern as did other *Jāwī* scholars of the period, beginning most likely at home before progressing to local centres of Islamic learning in the Malay Archipelago. It is highly likely that Dāwūd al-Faṭānī was taught by 'ulamā' from *al-Ḥaramayn* or Yemen while he was still in Pattani.<sup>104</sup> His earliest dated work, *Īdāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd an-Nikāh bi 'ṣ-Ṣawāb* was completed in Mecca on Monday, 9 Rabī' al-Awwal 1224/24 April 1809 and his latest, *al-Bahjat al-Marḍiyyah fī 'Udhri Takhalluf al-Ma'mūm 'an 'l-Imām Thalāthat Arkān Tawīlah*, also in Mecca on Tuesday, 14 Shawwāl 1259/7 November 1843.<sup>105</sup>

Pattani, located on the Malay Peninsula, with the coast of the Gulf of Thailand in the north, was an independent Malay Muslim sultanate ruling a large portion of the surrounding region until the sixteenth century when it became a vassal state of Siam (now Thailand). Following the rebellions within Pattani against Siamese rule in 1791 and 1808, Pattani was divided into seven largely autonomous states: Pattani, Nongchik, Saiburi (Teluban), Yala (Jala), Yaring (Jambu), Ra-ngae (Legeh) and Reman; all were ruled by the King of Ligor.<sup>106</sup>

Dāwūd al-Faṭānī must have left Pattani for Mecca in the late eighteenth century, a time of upheaval when the Siamese Empire was responding harshly to rebellions instigated by the Malays in the south. In Mecca, he would have become part of the *Jāwī* student community who had come to seek 'ilm from the great 'ulamā' of that time. One such 'ālim was 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī himself. As we will see later, from his work *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, it is evident that al-Falimbānī was already engaged in teaching before the latter part of the eighteenth century, as in this work he lists numerous *Ṣūfī* writings suitable for students, structuring them to match their varied abilities. Therefore, it is highly likely that Dāwūd



al-Faṭānī would have attended the teaching sessions of this famous *Jāwī* 'ālim, particularly when we observe Snouck Hurgronje's comment that the *Jāwī* students preferred to study with their own compatriots, at least during the initial establishment in *al-Ḥaramayn*.<sup>107</sup>

According to al-Fādānī, Dāwūd al-Faṭānī was a student of Sulaymān al-Ahdal (1137-97/1724-82), a contemporary of al-Falimbānī; his father Yaḥyā and his son 'Abd ar-Raḥmān, were both teacher and student of al-Falimbānī respectively.<sup>108</sup> If Dāwūd al-Faṭānī was born in 1133/1720 as Abdullah claimed,<sup>109</sup> then he would have been a direct contemporary of al-Falimbānī. If this was the case, questions can be asked as to why he did not accompany him to study in Zabīd in 1147/1734 under the shaykh who was considered the 'imām ahl zamānih,' the imām of his time, due to his prestige in all disciplines of Islamic learning. This was Yaḥyā al-Ahdal. Furthermore, the fact that Dāwūd al-Faṭānī studied with Sulaymān al-Ahdal confirms he spent time in Zabīd, since the latter only travelled to Mecca to perform *ḥajj* in 1167/1753.<sup>110</sup> Thus, he must have been born at least around 1153/1740 as Azra suggests because he was unable to study with Aḥmad Maqbūl al-Ahdal, al-Falimbānī's second and main teacher, who died in 1167.

On the *Ṣūfī tarīqah*, it is evident that Dāwūd al-Faṭānī adhered to the Shaṭṭāriyyah Order. This, for instance, is reflected in numerous works by him mentioning this Order over others. He points out that *kayfiyyat adh-dhikr* (method of remembrance) differs from one Order to another and follows by mentioning only the *kayfiyyah* according to the Shaṭṭāriyyah Order, quoting *al-ʿarīf bi 'l-Allāh* Aḥmad al-Qushāshī as the authority.<sup>111</sup>

From my examination of some of his unpublished works, it is clear that he was familiar with the works of preceding *Ṣūfī* scholars from the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. For instance, in two short epistles answering questions on mysticism, which he wrote in Mecca on 7 Ramaḍān 1233/11 July 1818 and a week later, on 15 Ramaḍān/19 July respectively, he quotes as authoritative sources, al-Burhānpūrī's (d. 1029/1619) *at-Tuḥfah al-Mursalah*, Aḥmad al-Qushāshī's (d. 1071/1661) *Qaṣd as-Sabīl* and 'Abd al-Ghanī an-Nābulusī's (d. 1143/1731) epistle on *waḥdat al-wujūd*.<sup>112</sup> It is important to mention at this point that it may well have been al-Falimbānī who introduced most of these works to Dāwūd



al-Faṭānī, being the grand-disciple of an-Nābulusī himself and due to his prominent position among the *Jāwī* community in *al-Ḥaramayn*.

## Al-Falimbānī in Zabīd

Undoubtedly, the best-known of al-Falimbānī's students was his Yemeni disciple 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal, whom we have already frequently mentioned earlier. This is due to several reasons; firstly, because he was the only student whose relationship with al-Falimbānī bears a detailed account. Secondly, this account was written directly by al-Ahdal himself and not by any third party. Thirdly, al-Ahdal, in his own right, was a prominent scholar of his generation who assumed the highest religious office in Zabīd. Fourthly, because he was one of the most ubiquitous scholars of this period, not only can we find his biographical notices from various sources, but we can easily trace his scholarly networks from various *isnād* works in numerous sources written either by his contemporaries and later generations. Finally, in addition to all of the above, we already know the strong and close connections that al-Falimbānī had established with al-Ahdal family, as he himself studied with them and they were probably his main teachers and mentors in Zabīd. Thus, it is not surprising that he came back to Zabīd after he in turn became a prominent scholar; and that he was received with high regards, especially by al-Ahdal family.

Wajīh ad-Dīn 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān b. Yaḥya b. 'Umar al-Ahdal was born in Zabīd in Dhū al-Qa'dah 1179/April 1766.<sup>113</sup> His genealogy, as I have shown earlier in the discussion of his grandfather Yaḥyā, is traced back to Ḥusayn b. 'Alī <sup>radiyallāhu 'anhumā</sup>, the grandson of the Prophet SAW. As the al-Ahdal family was well established for their stature and renowned for their scholarship, one can expect that 'Abd ar-Raḥmān need not travel to gain knowledge, especially since his own father Sulaymān and his grandfather before him, were *mufīīs* of Zabīd. He received his rudimentary and advanced learning chiefly from his father, and he in turn became a prominent scholar of his time. This is corroborated by Ṣiddīq al-Qannūjī (1248-1307/1832-89), who considered himself one of his students by way of *al-ijāzah al-āmmah li-ahl al-aṣr*. He describes 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal as “an *imām*, *faqīh*, the great *ḥadīth* authority,

exegete, jurist who had the knowledge of the rational and traditional sciences, and who was unparalleled among his peers.”<sup>114</sup>

In addition to this testimony, it is evident that ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal was a scholar of extraordinary ability. After his father’s death in 1197/1782, due to his profound erudition, intellectual distinction and competency, and no doubt due to the position of his family, he was appointed to the office of *mufī* when he was only eighteen years of age.<sup>115</sup> Thus, he was a third generation *mufī* of al-Ahdal house. Indeed, most of his sons, nephews and grandchildren later occupied the post of *mufī* of Zabīd in continuous succession.<sup>116</sup>

‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal remained the *mufī* of Zabīd for fifty-three years until he died on 21 Ramaḍān 1250/21 January 1835 in that city at the age of seventy-one. In 1263/1846, his contemporary and student Sa’d b. ‘Abd Allāh Suhayl al-Yamanī az-Zabīdī, compiled his biography in a small epistle entitled *Fath ar-Raḥmān fī Manāqib Sīdī ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān*.<sup>117</sup> However, after an extensive search, I have not found any manuscript or published copy of this work.

Perhaps one of al-Ahdal’s most noted works was his *thabat*, a compilation of his teachers entitled *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*. In this respect, al-Kattānī remarks that “his *an-Nafas* was among the most precious works ever written, the best ever compiled in the past century for it includes extensive narrations and ‘*uluw al-isnād*, combining together Meccan, Indian, Khurāsānī, Yemeni, Maghribī and Egyptian scholars” (*nafasuhu hādha min anfas mā ullif wa-arfa’ mā šunnif fī ‘l-qarn al-munṣarim, ittisā’ riwāyah wa-‘uluw isnād, wa-ḍhamma al-makkī li ‘l-hindī, al-khurāsānī li ‘l-yamanī, wa ‘l-maghribī li ‘l-miṣrī*).<sup>118</sup> In addition to al-Kattānī’s remark, one can see from examining *an-Nafas al-Yamānī* itself that it is one of the most significant sources for the history of Islamic intellectual networks from the eighteenth century, with Zabīd as its centrepoint. This is because al-Ahdal did not merely list his teachers, their teachers and the works he studied with them as is customary with other *thabats*. Rather, he extensively provides us with succinct biographical notices, thirty-six to be exact, including thirteen visiting scholars to Zabīd, making this work on its own merit, a rich biographical source for the study of eighteenth century Muslim scholars.

Looking at al-Ahdal's teachers in his *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, al-Kattānī commented that since fourteen of them were also teachers of Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī and al-Ahdal himself lived almost fifty years after az-Zabīdī's death, it is obvious that "he was the last important scholar and the most sought after in the [Islamic] world due to his 'uluw *al-isnād*, abundant prestige, far reaching reputation and profound knowledge" (*khātimat man yurḥal ilayhim fī 'd-dunya li-'uluw isnādihi wa-wāfir jāhihi wa-bu'd šītihi wa-kabīr 'ilmih*).<sup>119</sup>

At this point, it is worth noting that, al-Ahdal's *an-Nafas* contains the first biographical notice in Arabic literature on a *Jāwī* scholar, in this case, 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī. It is an illustration of the importance of this genre for the study of scholarly relations and interaction between the Malay and the Arab worlds. This applies in particular to works of Yemeni scholars because we know that most of the *Jāwī* 'ulamā' of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries such as Nūr ad-Dīn ar-Rānīrī, 'Abd ar-Ra'ūfas-Sinkīlī and Yūsuf al-Maqassārī, all studied in Yemen during their early scholarship before we eventually find them in *al-Ḥaramayn*. However, it is important to remember that al-Falimbānī's biographical account was included in this work because, from al-Ahdal's point of view, he was one of the thirteen scholars from the *ṭabaqat al-wāfīdīn*, or visiting professors who taught in Zabīd and whom he regarded highly. This evidence itself stands alone to indicate that al-Falimbānī in the *Jāwī* scholarly context, was particularly prominent in Arab eyes.

'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal specifically mentioned in his *an-Nafas al-Yamānī* that he studied al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm ad-Dīn* with his teacher 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī and upon his request, al-Falimbānī granted him a lengthy *ijāzah* written in his own hand.<sup>120</sup> Unfortunately, he did not include or tell us the content of this *ijāzah*, which would have helped us further in understanding al-Falimbānī's intellectual standing. His *an-Nafas al-Yamānī* remains one of the most crucial sources for al-Falimbānī's biography despite lacking important details. For instance, al-Ahdal does not tell us the duration of al-Falimbānī's sojourn in Zabīd, his age or date of birth or death. Nor does he list his works, the subjects he taught, his students, the number of Yemeni or Zabīd students who attended his teaching sessions, or their names, etc. However, from his succinct remarks, it is evident that al-Falimbānī had, at least, a group of



“outstanding students” in Zabīd whom al-Ahdal terms as *ba‘ḍ fuḍalā’ aṭ-ṭalabah*.<sup>121</sup>

From other sources, we can depict some of the subjects that al-Falimbānī taught in Zabīd, or at least taught to al-Ahdal himself. Apart from al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā’*, he studied az-Zurqānī's commentary on *al-Muwatta’* with al-Falimbānī, and with this *isnād*, he relates the rest of az-Zurqānī's works.<sup>122</sup> As already mentioned, al-Ahdal received the initiation into as-Sammāniyyah *Ṣūfī* Order from ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī, who in turn had received this Order directly from its founder his Master Muḥammad as-Sammān. Al-Ahdal in turn passed down this Order to later generations of Yemeni scholars.<sup>123</sup> It is evident from this *silsilah* that al-Falimbānī was a leading proponent of as-Sammāniyyah Order who disseminated it further to his *Jāwī* and Arab students.

In addition to *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal wrote numerous works, including *Sharḥ Bulūgh al-Marām fī Aḥādith al-Aḥkām*, *Kashf al-Ghiṭā’ fī Mas’alat Ibn ‘Aṭā’*, *al-Faṭḥ al-‘Alī fī Ma’rifat Salb al-Walī*, *Baḥṭh fī Sabab Taqdīm al-Aws ‘alā ‘l-Khazraj*, apparently on historical factors for the preference of al-Aws over al-Khazraj, the two tribes of Medina, *Faṭḥ al-Laṭīf fī Sharḥ Muqaddimat at-Taṣrīf*, *Talqīh al-Afhām fī Waṣāyā Khayr al-Anām*, *Farā'id al-Fawā'id*, *ar-Rawḍ al-Warīf fī Istikhdām ash-Sharīf*, and *Barakat ad-Dunyā wa ‘l-Ukhrā fī ‘l-Ijāzāt al-Kubrā*.<sup>124</sup> The latter, is a work specifically on his *ijāzah* in two volumes, the manuscript copy of which is said to exist in a private library – namely Maktabat al-Adīb Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Yarīmī in Ṣan‘ā’.<sup>125</sup> Al-Kattānī mentioned this work in his *Fahras al-Fahāris*; however he only gives a very brief description telling us that he found its attribution to al-Ahdal in the *ijāzah* of Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Āmirī, the Ḥanbalī *muftī* in Mecca.<sup>126</sup> As the title would suggest, perhaps this work contains all the *ijazāhs* written and granted to ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal by his teachers, including no doubt, the aforementioned lengthy *ijāzah* written by al-Falimbānī.

Apparently, al-Ahdal did not travel much. This is perhaps understandable, as we noted earlier that he assumed the office of *muftī* at a very young age leaving him with no option to travel widely. However, that does not mean he did not meet eminent scholars of his time or did not travel at all. Furthermore, from his *an-Nafas al-Yamānī* we can



deduce that he took the opportunity to study with any eminent visiting professors to Zabīd in addition to its own *‘ulamā’*. One such occasional trip we have account of was his travel to *al-Ḥaramayn*. According to al-Ḥabshī, al-Ahdal travelled to Mecca in 1199/1784 where presumably, as well as performing the *hajj* he met one of his teachers, ‘Abd Allāh b. Sulaymān al-Jarhazī.<sup>127</sup> It is perhaps during this stay that he met some of his other Meccan teachers mentioned in his *an-Nafas*, such as ‘Abd al-Malik b. ‘Abd al-Mun‘im b. Tāj ad-Dīn b. ‘Abd al-Muḥsin al-Qal‘ī (ca. 1150-1229/1737-1813), the Ḥanafī *mufī* in Mecca.<sup>128</sup>

It should be understood that despite having limited opportunity to travel outside Zabīd to study with scholars of his time, his ubiquitous presence in *isnāds* of his contemporaries and later generations is more than enough evidence to highlight his prominent position as an extraordinary scholar. In addition, I have already demonstrated above his highly regarded stature, as attested by other renowned scholars such as al-Kattānī. From his vast narrations, it is worth noting that he had connections to earlier *Ṣūfī* progenitors. For instance, his *isnād* on *ḥadīth at-talqīm* begins with his father Sulaymān, who in turn received it from Aḥmad Maqbūl, who received it from Aḥmad an-Nakhlī, who received it from ‘Īsā ath-Tha‘ālibī and henceforth, including names such as Abū Madyan Shu‘ayb b. al-Ḥusayn, Ibn al-‘Arabi, al-Ghazālī, Abū Ṭalīb al-Makkī, al-Junayd al-Baghdādī, as-Sarī as-Saqaṭī, Ma‘rūf al-Karkhī, Dāwūd at-Ṭā‘ī, and others up to the Prophet SAW.<sup>129</sup>

Thus, from the above discussion, it is clear that I have established the point that ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal was undoubtedly the best-known and most prominent example among al-Falimbānī’s students.

## Al-Falimbānī in the Malay Archipelago

In contrast to the above two major centres of Islamic learning (Mecca and Zabīd), al-Falimbānī’s students in the Archipelago are the most difficult to identify. Firstly, this without doubt is due to a grave shortage of available Malay sources because most of the primary materials, especially the rich collections of manuscripts deposited in various libraries, remain untouched until today. Secondly, to a certain extent, even if we do find such records of his students from these manuscripts, it would not be easy

to trace and establish their identities. Unless they were among the later renowned *Jāwī* scholars whom we can find records of from the earlier mentioned Arabic biographical dictionaries, it is almost impossible to establish their identities since we do not have such compilations in Malay. Finally, recent references to such records are often unreliable or unverified as they lack the analytical and critical scholarly spirit. Some of these are mainly claims only based on oral traditions, which are practically impossible to ascertain.

The only information on al-Falimbānī's students in the Malay Archipelago at present is scattered in the compilations of Shaghīr Abdullah. However, since his works suffer from a number of inconsistencies as indicated earlier, it should be treated with caution. The first such student whom Abdullah claims to have been a disciple of al-Falimbānī was Haji Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad Yūsuf of Terengganu, Malaysia, who copied substantial numbers of al-Falimbānī's works. Abdullah argues that among the evidence indicating that he was his student is a clearly recorded manuscript copy of *al-'Urwat al-Wuthqā*, which unfortunately is only available in Abdullah's own personal collection. He adds that Maḥmūd is said to have started his active writing career in 1235/1819 and that it extended to 1291/1874.<sup>130</sup> However, if these dates can be verified, it is then plausible that he might possibly have met and studied with al-Falimbānī, since I have already established earlier that he died in 1254/1839. Moreover, we would still need further evidence to support the claim that he studied with him even if we can prove that they both lived during the same period.

The second student of al-Falimbānī that Abdullah mentioned was Ismā'īl b. 'Abd Allāh al-Minkābāwī. In addition, he points out that the latter's son Muḥammad Nūr was a student of al-Falimbānī's daughter, Fāṭimah al-Falimbāniyyah.<sup>131</sup> However, we are fortunate that Ismā'īl's biographical notice is available from our Arabic biographical sources.

All biographers of Ismā'īl b. 'Abd Allāh al-Minkābāwī al-Jāwī al-Makkī al-Khālidi an-Naqshabandī ash-Shāfi'ī are in accord that he was born in the Malay Archipelago, perhaps in Minangkabau, Sumatra as his *nisbah* indicates. He travelled with his father at a very young age to Mecca where he grew up and received his rudimentary education.<sup>132</sup> He then advanced his learning under the guidance of 'Uthmān ad-Dimyā'ī

with whom he studied several Islamic disciplines, including *fiqh* with his instruction. After his teacher's death (in 1265/1848), Ismā'īl al-Minkābāwī moved on to study with his nephew, Aḥmad ad-Dimyātī (d. 1270/1853) whom we have mentioned earlier was the Shāfi'ī *muftī* of Mecca. Other scholars with whom he also studied include Muḥammad Sa'īd al-Qudsī (d. 1260/1844) and Ṣāliḥ ar-Ra'īs az-Zamzamī (d. 1240/1824), both Shāfi'ī *muftīs* of Mecca. The latter was among one of his close teachers and according to al-Bakrī, he met him during his early youth and remained with him until his death, which al-Minkābāwī dated in his own handwriting as Thursday, 7 Jumādā ath-Thānīyah 1240/27 January 1825.<sup>133</sup>

It is important to point out that these scholars were also teachers of 'Abd al-Ghanī b. Ṣubḥ al-Bīmāwī, mentioned earlier as a student of al-Falimbānī. Thus, Ismā'īl al-Minkābāwī's period of study must have coincided with that of al-Bīmāwī's and it can therefore be expected that they must have been contemporaries in Mecca and were most likely part of the same circles. Ismā'īl al-Minkābāwī later became so proficient in various Islamic sciences that he was nominated to teach at al-Masjid al-Ḥarām and students flocked to study with him. In term of *ṭarīqah* affiliation, he follows the Naqshabandiyyah Khālidiyyah *Ṣūfī* Order. Abdullah maintains that al-Minkābāwī was the proponent of this Order in Kepulauan Riau (Riau Islands, Indonesia) and that most of the adherents of this Order traced back their *silsilah* to him.<sup>134</sup>

Though Ismā'īl al-Minkābāwī's date of birth is unknown, biographical sources are in accord that he died in Mecca after 1280/1863, and al-Bakrī points out that he died at the age of close to seventy.<sup>135</sup> Thus, he must have been born approximately around 1210/1795 and if this was the case, it is then highly plausible that he met and studied with al-Falimbānī. Ismā'īl al-Minkābāwī was survived by two sons, Muḥammad Azharī (d. 1302 or 3/1884 or 5)<sup>136</sup> and Muḥammad Nūr (d. 1313/1895),<sup>137</sup> who according to Mirdād were meritorious and upright scholars (*'aqaba ibnayn 'ālimayn fādilayn*); the former died in Mecca leaving two sons, Ismā'īl and Sālim, and the latter also died in Mecca at the age of fifty and was survived by two daughters.<sup>138</sup>

It is worth noting that while in one work Abdullah mentioned that Ismā'īl al-Minkābāwī was al-Falimbānī's student, he contradicts himself



in another by saying that he was a close friend of both al-Falimbānī and Dāwūd al-Faṭānī.<sup>139</sup> From the dates surrounding his life and his period of study, it is hardly plausible that al-Minkābāwī could have been a close friend of these two scholars in the real sense. Perhaps they were friendly towards him. Nonetheless, based on the place he lived and died (Mecca), he was perhaps very likely to be among al-Falimbānī's students in Mecca rather than in the Archipelago.

Another of al-Falimbānī students in the Archipelago mentioned in passing by Abdullah was Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ b. Murīd ar-Rāwā.<sup>140</sup> However, Arabic sources only mention him as Shaykh Ṣāliḥ Rāwāh al-Jāwī ash-Shāfi'ī, born in his hometown and later travelled and sojourned in Mecca for a considerable period. He studied with prominent scholars of his time including a blind scholar (*aḍ-ḍarīr*), Sayyid Aḥmad al-Marzūqī al-Mālikī (d. 1281/1864) and 'Uthmān ad-Dimyāṭī. Ṣāliḥ Rāwāh was an intelligent student and was lauded by his *al-Ḥaramayn* teachers and granted the permission to teach at al-Masjid al-Ḥarām; students, mostly *Jāwīs* flocked to study with him.<sup>141</sup> Again, we notice that these scholars were also teachers to most of al-Falimbānī's students in Mecca, thus indicating that Ṣāliḥ Rāwāh must have been their contemporary and was most likely part of the same circle.

In addition, Mirdād points out that in terms of *ṭarīqah* affiliation, he follows as-Sammāniyyah *Ṣūfī* Order.<sup>142</sup> Perhaps, he received the membership to this Order directly from al-Falimbānī who we know was one of as-Sammān's *khalīfahs* and a leading proponent of this Order. According to al-Bakrī and Mirdād, Ṣāliḥ Rāwāh died in Mecca around 1270/1853 and was interred at al-Ma'la leaving two sons, Aḥmad and Muḥammad.<sup>143</sup>

To conclude this chapter, it is clear that 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī was a peripatetic scholar, travelling from one centre of Islamic learning to another, studying with and learning from various teachers who had their own personal traditions of religious scholarship before settling down in Mecca where he later became established. There was a great deal of diversity among his teachers as they were different from each other in terms of not only their places of origin but also their *madhhabs* and *ṭarīqah* affiliations. Though al-Falimbānī was a Shāfi'ī in terms of his adherence to Islamic legal doctrine, he did not restrict himself



by studying only with Shāfi'ī scholars but also with teachers from the three remaining Sunni *madhabs*: Ḥanafī, Mālikī and Ḥanbalī. Similarly, in terms of *ṭarīqah* affiliation, his teachers followed the path of an-Naqshabandiyyah, al-Qādiriyyah, ash-Shaṭṭāriyyah, ash-Shādhiliyyah, al-'Ādiliyyah, al-Khalwatiyyah, al-'Alawiyyah, while he followed the path of al-Khalwatiyyah as-Sammāniyyah.

It is also important to highlight that al-Falimbānī's scholarly and intellectual connections with eminent scholars of earlier generations are evident through his interactions with his numerous teachers. For instance, through Yahyā al-Ahdal, Aḥmad Maqbūl al-Ahdal, Sālim al-Baṣrī and 'Umar as-Saqqāf, al-Falimbānī was the 'grand-disciple' of 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī, Aḥmad an-Nakhli, Ḥasan al-'Ujaymī, Muḥammad Abū Ṭāhir al-Kūrānī, Tāj ad-Dīn b. 'Abd al-Muḥsin al-Qal'ī and Muṣṭafā b. Faṭḥ Allāh al-Ḥamawī. Through 'Abd al-Ghanī Hilāl, he was the 'grand-disciple' of Muḥammad Hilāl and Muḥammad Sa'id Sunbul; through Muḥammad Mirdād and Muḥammad Murād as-Sindī, he was the 'grand-disciple' of Abū al-Ḥasan as-Sindī aṣ-Ṣaghīr and Muḥammad Hāshim at-Tatwī as-Sindī, an eminent Indian scholar, respectively; through Ibrāhīm az-Zamzamī, he was a 'grand-disciple' of Ibn 'Aqīlah, Muḥammad b. aṭ-Ṭayyib al-Maghribī, Aḥmad al-Ashbūlī and 'Abd Allāh ash-Shubrāwī; through Muḥammad as-Sammān, he was a 'grand-disciple' of Muṣṭafā b. Kamāl ad-Dīn al-Bakrī, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alawī al-Ḥaddād, Muḥammad Ḥayāt as-Sindī and Muḥammad b. Sālim al-Ḥifnī.

Through his Egyptian teachers, such as Dāwūd al-Kharibtāwī and Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, he was a 'grand-disciple' of Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Bāqī az-Zurqānī and Shāh Walī Allāh ad-Dihlawī respectively. Finally, through his Damascene teachers, such as Aḥmad b. Ubayd al-'Aṭṭār and Muḥammad b. Aḥmad as-Saffārīnī, he was a 'grand-disciple' of 'Alī al-Kuzbarī, Muḥammad b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ghazzī, Ismā'īl al-'Ajlūnī, Aḥmad al-Manīnī, Ilyās al-Kūrānī, Aḥmad al-Ba'li and 'Abd al-Ghanī an-Nābulusī.

The importance of stating al-Falimbānī's long list of scholarly connections above is that it enables us to see how the Islamic intellectual tradition and the scholarly writings of such '*ulamā*' were handed down to al-Falimbānī and through him to his students. This will be further illustrated by looking at his own writings, which we turn to next.

## Endnotes

- <sup>1</sup> For Nawawī al-Bantānī's biography and works see al-Bakrī, *Fayḍ al-Malik al-Wahhāb*, vol. 1, pp. 28-9; vol. 2, pp. 1637-9; Mirdād, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 2, pp. 449-50; 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Siyar wa-Tarājim*, p. 288; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 6, p. 318; al-Mu'allimī, *A'lām al-Makkiyyīn*, vol. 2, pp. 969-70; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-'Arifīn*, vol. 2, p. 394; idem, *Īdāh al-Maknūn*, vol. 1, pp. 11, 189, 204, 342, 346, 420, 464, 543, 599; vol. 2, pp. 18, 21, 24, 105, 167, 172, 192, 218, 235, 245, 399, 468, 674, 691, 695; Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 11, p. 87; vol. 12, p. 83; Mamdūh, *Tashnīf al-Asmā'*, p. 304; Steenbrink, Karel A., "Syekh Nawawi Banten," in his *Beberapa Aspek Tentang Islam di Indonesia Abad ke-19* (Jakarta, Bulan Bintang, 1984), pp. 117-27; Snouck, *Mekka in the Later Part of 19th Century*, pp. 268-73; Abdullah, "Syekh Nawawi al-Bantani – Imam Nawawi Kedua" in *Dewan Budaya*, August 1993, pp. 51-3; idem, "Syekh Nawawi al-Bantani, digelar Iman Nawawi kedua" in *Utusan Malaysia*, Monday 7 February 2005, p. 9; Heer, *A Concise Handlist*, pp. 45-50; Brockelmann, *GAL (S)*, vol. II, pp. 813-4. For a study on Nawawī al-Bantānī see Abd. Rachman, "Nawawī al-Bantānī: An Intellectual Master of the Pesantren Tradition," *Studia Islamika*, 3, 3 (1996), pp. 81-114; Wijoyo, Alex Soesilo, *Shaykh Nawawi of Banten: Texts, Authority, and the Gloss Tradition* (PhD thesis, Columbia University, 1997); Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism*, p. 151.
- <sup>2</sup> See al-Bakrī, *Fayḍ al-Malik al-Wahhāb*, vol. 2, p. 1637.
- <sup>3</sup> See Abd. Rachman, "Nawawī al-Bantānī," p. 86.
- <sup>4</sup> See az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 6, p. 318; al-Bakrī, *Fayḍ al-Malik al-Wahhāb*, vol. 2, p. 1637.
- <sup>5</sup> See al-Bakrī, *Fayḍ al-Malik al-Wahhāb*, vol. 2, p. 1638; Mirdād, *al-Mukhtaṣar min Kitāb Nashr an-Nawr*, vol. 2, pp. 449-50; 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Siyar wa-Tarājim*, p. 288.
- <sup>6</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-Arba'ūn al-Buldāniyyah*, p. 62; idem, *al-Wāfī*, p. 105.
- <sup>7</sup> See supra, pp. 95, 96, 114, 135, 136.
- <sup>8</sup> See al-Bakrī, *Fayḍ al-Malik al-Wahhāb*, vol. 2, p. 1638; 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Siyar wa-Tarājim*, p. 288.
- <sup>9</sup> See al-Bantānī (d. 1314/1896) Muḥammad Nawawī b. 'Umar b. 'Arabī b. 'Alī al-Jāwī al-Makkī, *Ijāzah Muḥammad Nawawī b. 'Umar al-Jāwī al-Bantānī Li-'Abd as-Sattār b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Hindī al-Kutbī aṣ-Ṣiddīqī* (MSS Maktabat al-Ḥaram al-Makkī, 725/4 *Ijāzāt*), p. 15.

- <sup>10</sup> See Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Later Part of 19<sup>th</sup> Century*, pp. 268-73. Cf. Steenbrink, *Beberapa Aspek Tentang Islam*, pp. 117-22.
- <sup>11</sup> For Khaṭīb as-Sambasī's biography see al-Bakrī, *Fayḍ al-Malik al-Wahhāb*, vol. 1, pp. 273-4; Mirdād, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 1, p. 53; 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Siyar wa-Tarājim*, p. 71; al-Mu'allimī, *A'lām al-Makkiyyīn*, vol. 1, p. 526; Abdullah, *Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawuf*, pp. 177-93; Heer, *A Concise Handlist*, p. 16.
- <sup>12</sup> 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Bīmāwī's biography is given shortly.
- <sup>13</sup> Cf. al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 2, 10, 11, 16, 19, 25, 28, 29, 48, 49, 52, 59; idem, *al-Wāfī*, pp. 6, 7, 10, 13, 16, 17, 47, 50, 54, 60, passim; idem, *Tanwīr al-Baṣīrah*, p. 11; idem, *Waraqāt*, p. 25; idem, *al-Naḥḥat al-Miskiyyah*, p. 5; idem, *al-Qawl al-Jamīl*, p. 22; idem, *al-Fayḍ ar-Raḥmānī*, p. 14; idem, *Itḥāf al-Bararah*, pp. 10, 12; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 3, pp. 7, 21, 54, 62, 66, passim; Abū Ghuddah, *Imdād al-Fattāḥ*, p. 502.
- <sup>14</sup> See al-Bakrī, *Fayḍ al-Malik al-Wahhāb*, vol. 2, p. 1638; 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Siyar wa-Tarājim*, p. 288.
- <sup>15</sup> For more information of some of his prominent students see Wijoyo, *Shaykh Nawawi of Banten*, pp. 77-88; Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism*, p. 151.
- <sup>16</sup> Jam'an at-Tanqarānī was reported to have been a *mu'ammār* who lived for one hundred and eighty years and died on 8 Shawwāl 1381/15 March 1962. See al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 169.
- <sup>17</sup> Cf. al-Fādānī, *Itḥāf al-Mustafīd*, p. 24; idem, *al-Arba'ūn al-Buldāniyyah*, p. 61; idem, *al-Wāfī*, pp. 16, 17, 45, 47, 61, passim; idem, *Waraqāt*, p. 25; idem, *Tanwīr al-Baṣīrah*, p. 11; idem, *al-Naḥḥat al-Miskiyyah*, p. 5.
- <sup>18</sup> See al-Bakrī, *Fayḍ al-Malik al-Wahhāb*, vol. 2, p. 1637.
- <sup>19</sup> See al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-'Ārifīn*, vol. 2, p. 394; al-Mu'allimī, *A'lām al-Makkiyyīn*, vol. 2, p. 970.
- <sup>20</sup> See footnote 9 above. Cf. Muṭī' ar-Raḥmān, *al-Faḥras al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 1, p. 311; vol. 3, p. 1030.
- <sup>21</sup> See al-Bantanī (d. 1314/1896), Muḥammad Nawawī b. 'Umar, *Marāqī al-'Ubūdiyyah Sharḥ 'alā Bidāyat al-Hidāyah* (Egypt, Maṭba'at Dār al-Kutub al-'Arabiyyah al-Kubrā, 1327/1909), p. 100; idem, *Salālim al-Fuḍalā' 'alā al-Manzūmah al-musammāh Hidāyat al-Adhkiyā' ilā Ṭarīq al-Awliyā'* (Egypt, al-Maṭba'at al-Bahiyyah, 1301/1884), p. 56.
- <sup>22</sup> See al-Bantanī, *Salālim al-Fuḍalā'*, p. 2.
- <sup>23</sup> See Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Later Part of 19<sup>th</sup> Century*, pp. 271-2.

- 24 *Ibid*, pp. 270-1.
- 25 See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 6, 8, 68, 101, 105, 119, 120, 124, 130, 148; idem, *al-Wāfī*, pp. 9, 12, 90, 113, 114, 123, 124, 131, 140, 142; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 3, p. 36.
- 26 For 'Uthmān ad-Dimyāṭī's complete biography see al-Ḥaḍrāwī, *Nuzhat al-Fikar*, vol. 2, p. 331; al-Bakrī, *Fayḍ al-Malik al-Wahhāb*, vol. 1, pp. 816-7; al-Mu'allimī, *A'lām al-Makkiyyīn*, vol. 1, p. 431; Mirdād, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 2, pp. 336-7; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, pp. 776-7; Zabārah, *Nayl al-Waṭar*, vol. 2, p. 267; Abū Ghuddah, *Imdād al-Fattāh*, pp. 287-8.
- 27 See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, p. 777. Aḥmad Daḥlān in turn was highly venerated by his students that his merits were later compiled in a separate work. See Shaṭā (1310/1893), as-Sayyid Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad Zayn al-'Ābidīn, *Nafḥat ar-Raḥmān fī ba'd Manāqib as-Sayyid Aḥmad b. Zaynī Daḥlān* (Egypt, al-Maṭba'at al-Bahīyyah, 1305/1887).
- 28 See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, p. 776; al-Bakrī, *Fayḍ al-Malik al-Wahhāb*, vol. 1, p. 817; al-Mu'allimī, *A'lām al-Makkiyyīn*, vol. 1, p. 431.
- 29 See al-Amīr al-Kabīr (1232/1816), Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Mālikī al-Azhārī, *Thabat Muḥammad al-Amīr al-Kabīr* (Egypt, Maṭba'at al-Ma'āhid, 1345/1926); ash-Shanawānī (d. 1233/1817), Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Maṣṣūr al-Azhārī ash-Shāfi'ī, *ad-Durar as-Saniyyah fī-mā 'Alā min 'l-Asānīd ash-Shanawāniyyah* (s.l., s.n., s.a.); ash-Sharqāwī (d. 1227/1812), 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥijāzī al-Azhārī, *al-Jāmi' al-Ḥāwī Fī Marwiyyāt ash-Sharqāwī*, edited by Muḥammad Yāsīn b. Muḥammad 'Īsā al-Fādānī al-Makkī (Damascus, Dār al-Baṣā'ir, 1405/1985).
- 30 See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, p. 777.
- 31 See al-Ḥaḍrāwī, *Nuzhat al-Fikar*, vol. 2, p. 331.
- 32 See al-Bakrī, *Fayḍ al-Malik al-Wahhāb*, vol. 1, p. 817.
- 33 See al-Fādānī, *al-Maslak al-Jalī*, p. 108.
- 34 See al-Fādānī, *Asānīd al-Faqīh*, p. 11; idem, *al-Maslak al-Jalī*, p. 98.
- 35 See al-Fādānī, *al-Maslak al-Jalī*, p. 95.
- 36 See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 137, 138, 390; vol. 2, pp. 776-7, 1072, 1079; Mirdād, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 1, p. 55; al-Ḥaḍrāwī, *Nuzhat al-Fikar*, vol. 1, pp. 150-1, 186-90; al-Bakrī, *Fayḍ al-Malik al-Wahhāb*, vol. 1, pp. 161-2, 185-7; al-Mu'allimī, *A'lām al-Makkiyyīn*, vol. 1, pp. 430-1; at-Tarmasī, *Kifāyat al-Mustafīd*, pp. 9, 10, 12, 14, 17, 19, 20, 21, 24, 26, 27, 31, 34, 36; al-Fādānī, *Asānīd al-Faqīh*, pp. 11, 52, 53, 57, 66, 67, 68, 80, 83, 104, 105; idem, *al-Wāfī*, pp. 109, 114, 124, 131,



141, 142; idem, *al-Arbaʿūn Ḥadīthan*, pp. 16, 69, 70; idem, *al-Arbaʿūn al-Buldāniyyah*, p. 11; idem, *Iṭḥāf al-Mustafīd*, pp. 6, 14, 47, 51, 57, 60, 78, 81; idem, *Asānīd al-Kutub al-Ḥadīthiyyah as-Sabʿah*, p. 15; Mamdūḥ, *Iʿlām al-Qāṣī*, p. 43; al-Ḥaddād (d. 1382/1962), ʿAlawī b. Ṭāhir Muftī Johor, *al-Khulāṣat al-Wāfiyyah fī ʿl-Asānīd al-ʿĀliyah* (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Beirut, Dār al-Judhūr, 1418/1998), pp. 10-11; Sardār, *Bulūgh Amānī al-Abrār*, pp. 303, 331, 357.

- <sup>37</sup> For further information of ʿUthmān al-Batāwī see Azra, Azyumardi, “A Hadhrami Religious Scholar in Indonesia: Sayyid ʿUthmān” in Freitag, Ulrike and Clarence-Smith, William G. (eds.) *Hadhrami Traders, Scholars and Statesmen in the Indian Ocean, 1750s-1960s* (Leiden; New York, Brill, 1997), pp. 249-63.
- <sup>38</sup> See Mirdād, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 1, p. 55; Zabārah, *Nayl al-Waṭar*, vol. 2, p. 267; al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 9, 12, 90, 113, 114, 122, 123, 124, 131, 140; Mamdūḥ, *Iʿlām al-Qāṣī*, p. 43; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 3, p. 36.
- <sup>39</sup> See al-Muʿallimī, *Aʿlām al-Makkiyyīn*, vol. 1, p. 407; ʿAbd al-Jabbār, *Siyar wa-Tarājim*, pp. 38-43.
- <sup>40</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, pp. 6, 8, 68, 101, 105, 119, 120, 124, 130, 148; idem, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 9, 12, 90, 112, 113, 114, 123, 124, 131, 140, 141, 142.
- <sup>41</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 141-4; idem, *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, pp. 89-95.
- <sup>42</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 51, 97, 112, 118; idem, *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, pp. 22, 82, 100, 107; Mamdūḥ, *Iʿlām al-Qāṣī*, p. 66.
- <sup>43</sup> For ʿAbd Ghānī al-Bīmāwī’s biography see al-Bakrī, *Fayḍ al-Malik al-Wahhāb*, vol. 2, pp. 974-5; Mirdād, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 1, pp. 217-8; al-Muʿallimī, *Aʿlām al-Makkiyyīn*, vol.1, pp. 332-3; Abū Ghuddah, *Imdād al-Fattāḥ*, p. 443.
- <sup>44</sup> ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Quds was a renowned *Jāwī* scholar of later generations. He provides us with a list of his teachers and the works he read with them in his own *thabat* entitled *al-Mafākhīr as-Saniyyah*. See Quds (d. 1334/1915), ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Makkī, “*al-Mafākhīr as-Saniyyah fī ʿl-Asānīd al-ʿĀliyyah al-Qudsiyyah*,” edited by Riḍā b. Muḥammad Ṣafī ad-Dīn as-Sanūsī, in *Majallah Markaz Buḥūth wa-Dirasāt al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah*, series no. 14, pp. 215-65.
- <sup>45</sup> See Mamdūḥ, *Iʿlām al-Qāṣī*, p. 66; al-Fādānī, *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, pp. 7, 22, 82, 100, 107; idem, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 7, 51, 97, 112, 118.
- <sup>46</sup> See al-Bakrī, *Fayḍ al-Malik al-Wahhāb*, vol. 1, p. 273; al-Muʿallimī, *Aʿlām al-Makkiyyīn*, vol. 1, p. 526; ʿAbd al-Jabbār, *Siyar wa-Tarājim*, p. 71.

- <sup>47</sup> See Mirdād, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 1, p. 218; Mamdūh, *I'lām al-Qāṣī*, p. 66.
- <sup>48</sup> See Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Later Part of 19th Century*, pp. 262, 268.
- <sup>49</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfī*, pp. 7, 51, 97, 112, 118; Mamdūh, *I'lām al-Qāṣī*, p. 66.
- <sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>51</sup> See Mamdūh, *I'lām al-Qāṣī*, p. 66.
- <sup>52</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 3, 113; idem, *al-Wāfī*, pp. 5, 117; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, pp. 163, 165; vol. 3, p. 7; Abdullah, *Syeikh Abdus Shamad*, pp. 148-9.
- <sup>53</sup> See Mamdūh, *I'lām al-Qāṣī*, p. 66; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 163.
- <sup>54</sup> He relates that the reason for being known with this appellation was that to distinguished between himself who was physically tall and his compatriot Arshad b. Muḥammad who was short, the *Jāwīs* pilgrims called them Arshad 'aṭ-Ṭawīl' (tall) and Arshad 'al-Qaṣīr' (short) respectively. See Mamdūh, *Tashnīf al-Asmā'*, pp. 91-2.
- <sup>55</sup> See Mamdūh, *Tashnīf al-Asmā'*, pp. 90-3; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, pp. 170-1; vol. 3, p. 7; al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 3-4.
- <sup>56</sup> See Mamdūh, *Tashnīf al-Asmā'*, pp. 90-3; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, pp. 170-1; vol. 3, p. 7; al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 3-4.
- <sup>57</sup> See al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, pp. 163, 165; al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfī*, p. 5; Mamdūh, *Tashnīf al-Asmā'*, p. 331; Abdullah, *Syeikh Abdus Shamad*, p. 141. For a list of Muḥammad Azharī's works see Heer, *A Concise Handlist*, p. 40.
- <sup>58</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfī*, pp. 116-7; idem, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 112-3.
- <sup>59</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 2, 13, 15, 32; idem, *al-Wāfī*, pp. 5, 23, 46, 58, 100, 108; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 176; vol. 3, p. 6.
- <sup>60</sup> See at-Tarmasī, *Kifāyat al-Mustafīd*, p. 41.
- <sup>61</sup> For Maḥfūz at-Tarmasī's biography and works see at-Tarmasī, *Kifāyat al-Mustafīd*, pp. 41-3; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 452-3, 503-4; 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Siyar wa-Tarājim*, pp. 286-7; al-Mu'allimī, *A'lām al-Makkiyyīn*, pp. 320-1; Heer, *A Concise Handlist*, p. 42; Bruinessen, Martin van, "Maḥfuz b. 'Abd Allah Al-Tarmasī" in *Dictionnaire biographique des savants et grandes figures du monde musulman périphérique*, du

*XLIXe siècle* <sup>‘azza</sup><sub>wa jalla</sub> *nos jours* (Fasc. no 1. Paris: CNRS-EHESS, 1992), pp. 30-31.

- <sup>62</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfi*, p. 141; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 176; at-Tarmasī, *Kifāyat al-Mustafīd*, p. 21 footnote.
- <sup>63</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-‘Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 18, 66, 67, 69, 70, 90; idem, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 5, 43, 89, 92, 94, 110, 123, 124, 134, 137, 139, 141; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 3, p. 6; at-Tarmasī, *Kifāyat al-Mustafīd*, pp. 7, 41.
- <sup>64</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-‘Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 90; idem, *al-Wāfi*, p. 141.
- <sup>65</sup> For Ṣāliḥ as-Samārānī’s biography, see Bruinessen, Martin van, “Saleh Darat” in *Dictionnaire biographique des savants et grandes figures du monde musulman périphérique, du XLIXe siècle* <sup>‘azza</sup><sub>wa jalla</sub> *nos jours* (Fasc. no 2. Paris: CNRS-EHESS, 1998), pp. 25-26; Abdullah, Wan Mohd Shaghir, *Utusan Malaysia*, 21 March 2005.
- <sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>67</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-‘Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 18, 66, 67, 69, 70, 90, 137; idem, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 5, 43, 89, 92, 94, 110, 123, 124, 134, 137, 139, 141; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 3, p. 6; at-Tarmasī, *Kifāyat al-Mustafīd*, pp. 7, 41.
- <sup>68</sup> Cf. al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 5, 43, 89, 92, 94, 110, 123, 124, 134, 137, 139, 141; idem, *al-‘Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 18, 66, 67, 69, 70, 90.
- <sup>69</sup> For Arshad al-Banjārī’s biography and works see Abdullah, Wan Mohd. Shaghir, *Syeikh Muhammad Arsyad Al Banjari: Pengarang Sabilal Muhtadin* (Kuala Lumpur, Khazanah Fathaniyah, 1990); Steenbrink, Karel A., “Shaykh Mohammad Arsyad al-Banjari 1710 - 1812, Tokoh Fiqih dan Tasawuf,” in his *Beberapa Aspek Tentang Islam di Indonesia Abad ke-19* (Jakarta, Bulan Bintang, 1984), pp. 91-100; Heer, *A Concise Handlist*, pp. 39-40. For a discussion on Arshad al-Banjārī’s personalities and thoughts see an Arabic article by Anwar, Khairil, “‘Ulamā’ Indūnīsiyyā al-Qarn al-Thāmin ‘Ashar: Tarjamah Muḥammad Arshad al-Banjārī wa Afkāruhu,” *Studia Islamika*, 3, 4 (1996), pp. 137-64.
- <sup>70</sup> It is important to note that al-Banjārī’s name in *al-‘Iqd al-Farīd* is distorted to Arshad b. ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Banjārī instead of the correct Arshad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Banjārī as in *al-Wāfi*. See al-Fādānī, *al-‘Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 4, 5, 8, 31, 35, 37, 38, 43, 52, 55, 56, passim; idem, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 7, 11, 59, 61, 65, 68, 69, 70, 73, 74, 76, 77, 78, 81, 88, 91, 94, 96, 100, 101, 102, 105, 116, 117, 119, 121, 127, 129, 130, 133, 137, 138, 139, 143; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 3, p. 25.

- 71 See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfī*, pp. 7, 59, 61, 65, 73, 76, 77, 81, 91, 94, 100, 101, 116, 117, 119, 121, 129, 139, 143.
- 72 *Ibid*, pp. 11, 50, 55, 70, 74, 105, 130, 133, 138; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 170; vol. 3, p. 45.
- 73 See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfī*, pp. 68, 69, 78, 88, 96, 102, 137; idem, *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, p. 46.
- 74 See Mamdūh, *Tashnīf al-Asmāʿ*, p. 409.
- 75 See Steenbrink, “Shaykh Mohammad Arsyad al-Banjari 1710 - 1812,” p. 96.
- 76 Cf. al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfī*, pp. 7, 11, 50, 55, 59, 61, 65, 68, 69, 70, 73, 74, 76, 77, 78, 81, 88, 91, 94, 96, 100, 101, 102, 105, 115, 116, 117, 119, 121, 127, 129, 130, 133, 137, 138, 139.
- 77 See al-Fādānī, *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, pp. 4, 12, 17, 20, 24, 30, 33, 38, 42, 44, 45, 46, 47, 49, 53, 54, 56, 58, 60, 61, 63, 64; idem, *al-Arbaʿūn al-Buldāniyyah*, p. 66; idem, *al-Wāfī*, pp. 7, 16, 22, 44, 45, 48, 50, 53, 61, 64, 65, 67, 68, 70, 72, 77, 80, 81, 83, 85, 86, 87, 88, 92, 99, 104, 107, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 120, 121, 125, 127, 128, 135, 143; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 164; vol. 3, pp. 25, 80;
- 78 See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfī*, p. 7; idem, *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, p. 4; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 164; vol. 3, p. 25.
- 79 See al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 170.
- 80 See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfī*, pp. 7, 10, 16, 22, 45, 50, 53, 61, 64, 65, 67, 68, 70, 72, 77, 80, 81, 85, 86, 87, 92, 99, 104, 107, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 121, 125, 128, 143.
- 81 *Ibid*, pp. 10, 45, 103, 135; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 170.
- 82 See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfī*, p. 45; idem, *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, p. 14.
- 83 See al-Fādānī, *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, p. 7; idem, *al-Wāfī*, p. 10.
- 84 See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfī*, pp. 44, 48, 67, 80, 83, 88, 107, 118, 120, 125, 127; idem, *al-Qawl al-Jamīl*, p. 21; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 173; vol. 3, p. 20.
- 85 al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfī*, pp. 110, 122.
- 86 See al-Falimbānī, *al-ʿUrwat al-Wuthqā*, MSS 2086, pp. 1, 2.
- 87 See Mamdūh, *Iʿlām al-Qāṣī*, p. 79; al-Fādānī, *Nahj as-Salāmah*, p. 10.
- 88 See al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 2, pp. 9-10; Kaḥḥālāh, *Muʿjam al-Muʿallifīn*, vol. 3, p. 127; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿArifīn*, vol. 1, p. 250.
- 89 See al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 2, pp. 10-1; Kaḥḥālāh, *Muʿjam al-Muʿallifīn*, vol. 3, p. 127.



- <sup>90</sup> See al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh ‘Ajā’ib al-Āthār*, vol. 3, pp. 222-3.
- <sup>91</sup> See al-Fādānī, *Nahj as-Salāmah*, p. 10; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 43.
- <sup>92</sup> See Mamdūh, *I’lām al-Qāṣī*, p. 79; al-Fādānī, *Nahj as-Salāmah*, p. 10.
- <sup>93</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-‘Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 64, 82; idem, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 87, 97. For his biography see Zabārah, *Nayl al-Waṭār*, vol. 2, pp. 478-80; ash-Shawkānī, *al-Badr aṭ-Ṭālī*, vol. 2, p. 199.
- <sup>94</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-‘Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 64; idem, *al-Wāfi*, p. 87.
- <sup>95</sup> Cf. al-Fādānī, *Nahj as-Salāmah*, p. 10; Mamdūh, *I’lām al-Qāṣī*, p. 79.
- <sup>96</sup> For his biography see Abdullah, *Penyebaran Islam*, vol. 8, pp. 45-55. For a list of his works see Heer, *A Concise Handlist*, p. 43.
- <sup>97</sup> See al-Banjārī, Nafīs, *ad-Durr an-Nafīs*, pp. 37-8.
- <sup>98</sup> Cf. Abdullah, *Penyebaran Islam*, vol. 8, p. 47; idem, *Syeikh Abdus Shamad*, p. 94.
- <sup>99</sup> See al-Banjārī, Nafīs, *ad-Durr an-Nafīs*, p. 37.
- <sup>100</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 5, 7, 9, 12, 14, 16, 18, 21, 23, 25, 27, 32. It is important to note that al-Banjārī himself dates his work as 1200/1785, but he must have made an addition after attending the lecture of Muḥammad al-Jawharī in 1201/1786. A brief discussion of al-Jawharī’s lecture appears after an addendum given by the term *fā’idah*. See, *ibid*, p. 25.
- <sup>101</sup> See al-Banjārī, Nafīs, *ad-Durr an-Nafīs*, pp. 19, 23, 24, 31.
- <sup>102</sup> For Dāwūd al-Faṭānī’s biography and works see Voorhoeve (d. 1996), P., “Dāwūd b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Idrīs al-Faṭānī” in *EF* (Leiden, E. J. Brill; London, Luzac & Co., 1965), vol. 2, p. 183; Abdullah, *Syeikh Daud*, especially pp. 9-54; idem, *Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawuf*, pp. 122-57; idem, *Perkembangan Ilmu Fiqh*, pp. 86-105; idem, *Penyebaran Islam*, vol. 10, pp. 1-42; Heer, *A Concise Handlist*, pp. 26-30.
- <sup>103</sup> See Chapter 1, pp. 12-16; Chapter 2, pp. 37, 51, 53; Chapter 3, p. 115; Chapter 4, pp. 199, 204-207; Chapter 5, p. 260.
- <sup>104</sup> See Matheson, Virginia, and Hooker, M. B., “Jawi literature in Patani: the maintenance of an Islamic Tradition” in *JMBRAS* (61, 1, 1988), pp. 19-26.
- <sup>105</sup> See al-Faṭānī (d. 1263/1846), Dāwūd b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Idrīs al-Jāwī, *Īdāh al-Bāb li-Murīd an-Nikāḥ bi ‘ṣ-Ṣawāb* (Pulau Pinang, Percetakan Almuarif Sdn. Bhd., s.a.), p. 58; idem, *al-Bahjat al-Marḍiyyah fī ‘Udhri Takhalluf al-Ma’ mūm ‘an ‘l-Imām Thalāthat Arkān Ṭawīlah* (Pulau Pinang, Percetakan Almuarif Sdn. Bhd., s.a.), p. 42.
- <sup>106</sup> For further information on the history of Pattani see Syukri, Ibrahim, *History of the Malay Kingdom of Patani*, translated by C. Bailey and J.

- N. Miksic (Athens, Ohio University, Center for International Studies, 1985).
- <sup>107</sup> See Hurgonje, *Mekka in the Later Part of 19th Century*, pp. 187, 241, 254.
- <sup>108</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfī*, p. 122; idem, *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, p. 118.
- <sup>109</sup> Cf. Abdullah, *Penyebaran Islam*, vol. 10, pp. 2-3; idem, *Syeikh Daud*, pp. 23-4.
- <sup>110</sup> See Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. Yaʿqūbī, pp. 69-71.
- <sup>111</sup> See al-Faṭānī (d. 1260/1845), Dāwūd b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Idrīs, *Ḍiyāʾ al-Murīd fī Maʿrifat Kalimat at-Tawḥīd* (Pulau Pinang, Percetakan Almuarif Sdn. Bhd., s.a.), p. 53.
- <sup>112</sup> See al-Faṭānī (d. 1263/1846), Dāwūd b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Idrīs al-Jāwī, [*Risālah Taṣawwuf*] (National Library of Malaysia, MSS 2526), fols. 2, 3, 6.
- <sup>113</sup> For ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal's biography see al-Qannūjī, *at-Tāj al-Mukallal*, pp. 345-9; idem, *Abjad al-ʿUlūm*, vol. 3, pp. 153-4; al-Bayṭār, *Ḥilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 2, pp. 826-7; ash-Shawkānī, *al-Badr at-Ṭālīʿ*, vol. 1, p. 186; Zabārah, *Nayl al-Waṭar*, vol. 2, pp. 47-50; az-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlam*, vol. 3, p. 307; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿArifīn*, vol. 1, p. 557; idem, *Īdāḥ al-Maknūn*, vol. 1, pp. 262, 320, 370, 591; vol. 2, pp. 170, 183, 362, 591, 672; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, pp. 250-1, 695-700; al-Ḥabshī, ʿAbd Allāh, *Maṣādir al-Fikr al-Islāmī*, pp. 84, 279, 361, 399, 561; al-Ahdalī, *al-Qawl al-Aʿdal*, pp. 124-6; al-Ḥabshī, *ʿUqūd al-Laʿāl*, pp. 184-190, 192-257; Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-Muʿallifīn*, vol. 5, p. 140; al-Fādānī, *Nahj as-Salāmah*, pp. 4, 21; idem, *Iṭḥāf al-Ikhwān*, p. 82; idem, *Iṭḥāf at-Ṭālib as-Sirrī*, p. 89; idem, *Fayḍ al-Mubdī*, p. 11; Quds, *al-Futūḥāt al-Qudsiyyah*, p. 5; al-Mālikī, *al-ʿUqūd al-Luʿluʾiah*, p. 98; Brockelmann, *GAL (S) N* vol. II, p. 817.
- <sup>114</sup> See al-Qannūjī, *at-Tāj al-Mukallal*, p. 345; idem, *Abjad al-ʿUlūm*, vol. 3, p. 154.
- <sup>115</sup> See ash-Shawkānī, *al-Badr at-Ṭālīʿ*, vol. 1, p. 186; Zabārah, *Nayl al-Waṭar*, vol. 2, p. 50.
- <sup>116</sup> Cf. Zabārah, *Nayl al-Waṭar*, vol. 2, pp. 329-30; idem, *Nuzhat an-Nazar*, vol. 1, pp. 136-7, 310, 311; Mamdūḥ, *Tashnīf al-Asmāʾ*, pp. 69-70, 234-5, 324.
- <sup>117</sup> See al-Qannūjī, *at-Tāj al-Mukallal*, pp. 346, 349; az-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlam*, vol. 3, p. 307; al-Bakrī, *Fayḍ al-Malik al-Wahhāb*, vol. 1, p. 78; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, p. 698; al-Ḥabshī, ʿAbd Allāh, *Maṣādir al-Fikr al-Islāmī*, p. 84; al-Baghdādī, *Īdāḥ al-Maknūn*, vol. 2, p. 165.

- <sup>118</sup> See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, pp. 695-6.
- <sup>119</sup> *Ibid*, p. 697.
- <sup>120</sup> See al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, p. 139.
- <sup>121</sup> *Ibid*, p. 140.
- <sup>122</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfī*, p. 50; idem, *al-‘Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 18.
- <sup>123</sup> See al-Ḥabshī, *‘Iqd al-Yawāqūt al-Jawhariyyah*, vol. 1, p. 91.
- <sup>124</sup> For a list of his works see al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 6-7; Abū Ghuddah, *Imdād al-Fattāḥ*, p. 466; Muṭī‘ ar-Raḥmān, *al-Fahras al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 3, p. 999; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, 698; Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu‘jam al-Mu‘allifīn*, vol. 5, p. 140; az-Ziriklī, *al-A‘lam*, vol. 3, p. 307.
- <sup>125</sup> See Abū Ghuddah, *Imdād al-Fattāḥ*, p. 466 footnote.
- <sup>126</sup> See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 250-1.
- <sup>127</sup> See al-Ḥabshī, ‘Abd Allāh, *Maṣādir al-Fikr al-Islāmī*, p. 356.
- <sup>128</sup> See al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 213-5.
- <sup>129</sup> See al-Ḥabshī, *‘Iqd al-Yawāqūt al-Jawhariyyah*, vol. 1, p. 74.
- <sup>130</sup> See Abdullah, *Al-‘Urwatul Wutsqa*, p. vi; idem, *Syeikh Abdus Shamad*, pp. 7-8, 30. For his biography see Abdullah, *Penyebaran Islam*, vol. 13, pp. 24-35.
- <sup>131</sup> See Abdullah, *Syeikh Abdus Shamad*, pp. 140-1.
- <sup>132</sup> For Ismā‘īl al-Minkābāwī’s biography and works see al-Bakrī, *Fayḍ al-Malik al-Wahhāb*, vol. 1, pp. 213-4; Mirdād, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 1, pp. 95-6; al-Mu‘allimī, *A‘lām al-Makkiyyīn*, vol. 2, p. 931; Abdullah, *Perkembangan Ilmu Fiqh*, pp. 106-13; idem, *Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawuf*, pp. 158-74; Heer, *A Concise Handlist*, pp. 34-5.
- <sup>133</sup> See al-Bakrī, *Fayḍ al-Malik al-Wahhāb*, vol. 2, p. 1352.
- <sup>134</sup> See Abdullah, *Perkembangan Ilmu Fiqh*, p. 108.
- <sup>135</sup> See al-Bakrī, *Fayḍ al-Malik al-Wahhāb*, vol. 1, p. 214. Cf. Mirdād, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 1, p. 95; al-Mu‘allimī, *A‘lām al-Makkiyyīn*, vol. 2, p. 931.
- <sup>136</sup> See al-Bakrī, *Fayḍ al-Malik al-Wahhāb*, vol. 2, pp. 1636-7.
- <sup>137</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 1639-40; al-Mu‘allimī, *A‘lām al-Makkiyyīn*, vol. 1, pp. 401-2.
- <sup>138</sup> Cf. Mirdād, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 1, p. 95; al-Bakrī, *Fayḍ al-Malik al-Wahhāb*, vol. 1, p. 214.
- <sup>139</sup> Cf. Abdullah, *Perkembangan Ilmu Fiqh*, p. 108; idem, *Syeikh Abdus Shamad*, pp. 140-1.
- <sup>140</sup> See Abdullah, *Syeikh Daud*, p. 49; idem, *Penyebaran Islam*, vol. 12, p. 50.

- <sup>141</sup> For Ṣāliḥ Rāwāḥ's biography and works see al-Bakrī, *Fayḍ al-Malik al-Wahhāb*, vol. 1, pp. 706-7; Mirdād, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 1, p. 173; al-Mu'allimī, *A'lām al-Makkiyyīn*, vol. 1, p. 450; Abdullah, *Penyebaran Islam*, vol. 12, pp. 49-57; Heer, *A Concise Handlist*, p. 44.
- <sup>142</sup> See Mirdād, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 1, p. 173.
- <sup>143</sup> *Ibid*, p. 173; al-Bakrī, *Fayḍ al-Malik al-Wahhāb*, vol. 1, p. 707.



## Chapter 5

### Al-Falimbānī's Writings: A Critical Assessment

#### Introduction

The previous chapters have shown that al-Falimbānī travelled widely to various centres of Islamic learning and studied with and met many prominent Muslim scholars of his time. He acquired knowledge in every major Islamic discipline, which can be seen from the list of books he read with his teachers.<sup>1</sup> From this wide base of scholarship one would expect that his own writings would reflect his vast learning and experience. But when consulting the existing contemporary studies on al-Falimbānī's life and writings, we find them lacking. None of these contemporary studies have produced an accurate account of al-Falimbānī's writings.

Voorhoeve was the first to provide a biography of al-Falimbānī and enumerates within it five core works. These are respectively: *Zahrat al-Murīd*, *Hidāyat as-Sālikīn*, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, *al-ʿUrwat al-Wuthqā* and *Naṣīḥat al-Muslimīn*.<sup>2</sup> Later generations of scholars built on this foundation. The next major study on al-Falimbānī was done by El-Muhammady who follows Voorhoeve, listing one further treatise, *Rātib ʿAbd aṣ-Ṣamad*.<sup>3</sup> He included the *Rātib*, taken from Brockelmann's list of manuscripts. However, Brockelmann only lists two of al-Falimbānī's writings, the *Rātib* and *Naṣīḥat al-Muslimīn*.<sup>4</sup> Citing El-Muhammady, Drewes includes all of the above and was also the first to conclusively attribute *Tuḥfat ar-Rāghibīn* to al-Falimbānī, building upon Voorhoeve's ascription.<sup>5</sup> Quzwain added one further work to this growing list, which was *Zād al-Muttaqīn*.<sup>6</sup>

Using these eight texts as a base, further research has thus far uncovered a total of twelve texts attributed to al-Falimbānī. This brings the total number of his output to twenty, of which three have been wrongly

attributed, as we shall see below. Starting with the texts listed above I will highlight his scholarly contributions in various fields relating to the Malay socio-religious and intellectual milieu. I will also discuss a number of his writings that have not been identified or utilised previously which show that although he was committed to Ṣūfīsm and wrote extensively on the subject, he was also proficient in other disciplines including *fiqh* and *ḥadīth*. This will provide us with a more comprehensive view of al-Falimbānī's scholarly and intellectual significance.

## Al-Falimbānī's Writings Listed by Contemporary Scholars

The first text mentioned above was his *Zahrat al-Murīd fī Bayān Kalimat at-Tawḥīd* (The Flower for the Seeker on the Exposition of the Proclamation of the Oneness [of God]). Al-Falimbānī himself tells in this book that in the year 1178/1765, “a savant and a very learned scholar and the master of renowned authorship” (*al-‘ālim al-‘allāmah ṣāḥib at-ta’līf al-mashhūr*) from Egypt, Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Mun‘im ad-Damanhūrī, arrived in Mecca for his pilgrimage.<sup>7</sup> Al-Falimbānī attended his series of lectures, taking his own notes and was asked afterwards by a fellow compatriot to translate this into Malay for the benefit of his close circle which he refers to as *ba‘d al-muḥibbīn*.<sup>8</sup> It is my contention that this is one of his earliest writings, as it was completed in Mecca on Wednesday, 23 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1178/12 June 1765.<sup>9</sup> This work was completed when he was around forty-six years old. One would expect at this age that al-Falimbānī would have been in the prime of his writing career. Analysis of this work, however, leads me to conclude that this is his first output.

Textual analysis gives the impression that al-Falimbānī was concerned most probably about forgetting the contents of what was read as he states that “after the lectures, I took notes fearing forgetfulness” (*ba‘d al-qirā’ah katabtu taqrīrahu khawf an-nisyān*).<sup>9</sup> This perhaps shows his lack of experience in producing scholarly texts, because an established scholar would most likely not include such an admission. This is further highlighted due to the fact that he uses an honorific to designate his humility and incapacity in comparison to ad-Damanhūrī.

Compared to the lofty title given above, al-Falimbānī describes himself as “the worthless in need of God” (*al-ḥaqīr al-faqīr ilā Allāh*).<sup>10</sup> If he was simply attempting to show humility, he would have used the latter title without the admission above. This further finds support in that this was the only place in his works where he included such an admission.

This text itself is based on his Arabic notes forming the *matn* with explanation in Malay. The main topic is the relationship between *manṭiq* (logic) and *uṣūl ad-dīn* (scholastic theology). In addition to this, he also delves into Arabic grammar (*naḥw*). Among the authoritative scholars and their writings listed in this tract are as-Sanūsī and his exposition on *Umm al-Barāhīn*, as-Suḥaymī and his commentary on *al-Hudhudī* (Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr al-Hudhudī’s commentary on *Umm al-Barāhīn*), Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī and his *Tuḥfat* [*al-Muḥtāj*], *al-Minhāj* [*al-Qawīm*] and [*al-I’lām bi-*] *Qawāṭi’ al-Islām*. He also mentions his teacher ‘Aṭā’ Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Azharī al-Miṣrī al-Makkī and his book entitled *al-‘Iqd al-Farīd fī Taḥqīq Kalimat at-Tawḥīd*.

Although the *Zahrat al-Murīd* was mentioned by several contemporary scholars (except Brockelmann above), it is clear that they did not consult the text thoroughly, if at all. If they had consulted the text, they would see its value as a source in charting the religious disagreement in the Malay Archipelago at that time. Three main issues are discussed in the text; first, engaging in debates on advanced topics in front of the uneducated masses, for the sake of showing off and to be known as a scholar. The second issue relates to *takfīr* (accusation of unbelief), and the third and final topic is regarding those who have only basic knowledge but engage in debates on advanced issues.<sup>11</sup> In discussing these topics, al-Falimbānī calls them people from “the land below the wind” (*dibawah angin*), in other words, those ‘scholars’ from the Malay Archipelago with whom he disagrees with, in three distinct categories.

In giving advice to his novice students (*mubtadī*), he recommends that they do not engage in advanced discussion regarding the attributes and essence of God, as found in the affirmation and negation in the *shahādah* (there is no deity but Allāh). He contrasts this with the first deviated group, who, according to him are the ignorant people (*jāhil*) who teach this subject in depth in order to receive the status, prestige and material benefits of being known as an ‘*ālim* (savant). This knowledge

is not required by the novice, as acquiring detailed knowledge of *‘ilm at-tawḥīd* is not an individual obligation (*farḍu ‘ayn*) on everyone.<sup>12</sup>

The second group from the ‘land below the wind’ that al-Falimbānī mentions are those who accuse a believer of unbelief (*kufṛ*) without knowledge or certain evidence and without possessing detailed knowledge of their error. He comments that this is happening *en masse*, and highlights the danger of such action mentioning that whoever accuses another Muslim of unbelief without proof has it rebound upon himself. He supports his position by paraphrasing the widely known *ḥadīth* on the subject [*man kaffara mu‘minan faqad kafar*]. He further supports his argument by citing the *kitāb ar-riddah* (book or chapter on apostasy) from Ibn Ḥajar’s *Tuḥfah* who is considered a major authority in the Shāfi‘ī *madhhab*,<sup>13</sup> stating that:

It is impermissible to call the children of a Muslim unbelievers, even if they do not pronounce the *shahādah* once in their life time or learn the twenty attributes (of God); even to the extent that they committed vice throughout their life. We cannot call such a person an unbeliever unless his action shows his *kufṛ*, or his statements reflect unbelief, or he directly affirms belief which is *kufṛ*.<sup>14</sup>

Furthermore, al-Falimbānī states that it is improper to make a judgment about someone’s belief unless it is based on certainty or proven evidence, and that no one is capable of judging until learning the *‘ilm ash-shara‘* (Islamic law), *fiqh* (jurisprudence), and *tawḥīd* (Divine Unity) from a credible and adept scholar.<sup>15</sup>

The third and last group that he mentions and criticises are those who discuss subjects for which they are not qualified. For instance, those who have recently completed studying *al-Ājurūmiyyah* and *Umm al-Barāhīn*, foundational texts in Arabic grammar and creed respectively, claiming themselves to be learned and capable of engaging in discussion of *‘ilm uṣūl ad-dīn* (Principles of the Religion), to the extent that this leads to accusing others of *kufṛ*. This is improper even if proficient in *‘ilm an-naḥw* (Arabic grammar), without mastering other Islamic sciences such as *‘ilm al-manṭiq* (logic) and other subjects.<sup>16</sup>

From this discussion, which takes about one quarter of the *Zahrat al-Murīd*, we can observe a number of important points. Firstly, he is



primarily addressing his close students but in illustrating his advice he refers to the volatile situation in the Malay Archipelago at that time. Secondly, this highlights that al-Falimbānī is acutely aware of the religious discontent in his homeland and feels the need to address these issues directly. Thirdly, this implies that he maintained contact with his homeland through both correspondence and students. Lastly, he knows that from among his students, a number would return home and engage these issues directly.

One further observation that can be made is that his methodology in advising his students shows his intellectual ability to relate specific issues to a wider, contemporary context. ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal reports regarding his teacher, al-Falimbānī, in his *an-Nafas al-Yamānī* that “he continued to emphasise to me the ethics of giving legal opinions (*fatwā*); that a *muftī* should not be confined merely to the question as this is insufficient. Rather, if he has knowledge of the current situation it must be perceived in his answer, as in this way, those engaged in this field know the religious benefits.”<sup>17</sup>

Based on the evidence that numerous manuscript copies are available in several libraries,<sup>18</sup> we can deduce that perhaps this work was once popular and widely circulated in the Archipelago, especially in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but later its popularity declined as other new works were written and produced that supplanted it.

The second major work from the list (of al-Falimbānī’s works) is *Hidāyat as-Sālikīn fī Sulūk Maslak al-Muttaqīn* (Guidance to Spiritual Seekers on following the manner of the Pious), which according to al-Falimbānī, was completed in Mecca, Tuesday, 5 Muharram 1192/3 February 1778. This treatise is a Malay translation and adaptation of al-Ghazālī’s *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah* (*The Beginning of Guidance*), being perhaps second to *Sayr as-Sālikīn* in terms of popularity and prevalence among the list of al-Falimbānī’s works. Several reprints and editions of this text can be found, in addition to *Hidāyat as-Sālikīn* being widely used as a textbook for students of Ṣūfīsm in *pesantren* (traditional Islamic religious learning centres) up to the present day.<sup>19</sup>

Though al-Falimbānī relies heavily on al-Ghazālī’s *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah* of course – since this is essentially a translation, it is obvious from examining the text itself that he supplemented al-Ghazālī’s original

text with his own additions taken from a variety of sources. In giving an indication of the scope of his work, al-Falimbānī mentions in his introduction (in both Arabic and Malay) that he wishes to translate into Malay the questions found in *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah*, with additions he deems beneficial to those who do not understand Arabic (*aḥbābtu an utarjim masā'ilahu ma'a ziādat masā'il nafīṣah fī hādhā al-kitāb bi-kalām al-Jāwī li-yantaḥi man lā ma'rifat lahu bi-kalām al-'Arab*).<sup>20</sup>

Deeper analysis of the text makes clear that al-Falimbānī based his supplements on his knowledge of numerous important Islamic works by renowned scholars of earlier generations, whom he listed in the *Hidāyat as-Sālikīn* itself. For instance, on the topic of ethics and Ṣūfism, he refers to several books, such as al-Ghazālī's *Minhāj al-Ābidīn*, *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm ad-Dīn*, *Kitāb al-Arba'in fī Uṣūl ad-Dīn*, and *Mukhtaṣar al-Iḥyā'*, 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥaddād's *an-Naṣā'ih ad-Dīniyyah*, ash-Sha'rānī's *al-Yawāqūt wa 'l-Jawāhir*, *Madārij as-Sālikīn*, *Uḥūd al-Muḥammadiyyah*, *Uḥūd al-Mashāyikh*, and *Durar al-Jawāhir*, Ibn 'Abbād's *Sharḥ al-Ḥikam*, Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh's *al-Ḥikam*, *at-Tanwīr fī Isqāṭ at-Tadbīr*, and *Miftāḥ al-Falāḥ*, as-Suhrawardī's *Awārif al-Ma'ārif*, al-Qushayrī's *ar-Risālah*, 'Abd al-Qādir al-'Aydārūs's *ad-Durr ath-Thamīn*, Aḥmad al-Qushāshī's *Bustān al-Ārifīn*, 'Abd al-Qādir al-Fākihī's *al-Kifāyah fī Sharḥ Bidāyat al-Hidāyah*, 'Alī al-Marṣafī's *Manhaj as-Sālik ilā Ashraf al-Masālik* and Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī's *Qūt al-Qulūb*.<sup>21</sup> In addition, al-Falimbānī on three occasions cited the opinion of his teacher as-Sammān from his *an-Nafaḥāt al-Ilāhiyyah fī Kayfiyyat Sulūk aṭ-Ṭarīqat al-Muḥammadiyyah*.<sup>22</sup> On advising his students to use their time beneficially through the remembrance of God by diligent daily recitations of *awrād* (spiritual litanies), he recommends them to consult his own compilation of litanies entitled *al-'Urwat al-Wuthqā wa-Silsilat al-Walī al-Atqā*.<sup>23</sup>

He also includes among his sources several Shāfi'ī *fiqh* and *ḥadīth* books such as, Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī's *al-Minhāj al-Qawīm*, Tāj ad-Dīn as-Subkī's *at-Tarshīḥ li-Bayān Ṣalāt at-Tasbīḥ*, Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī's *Sharḥ ar-Rawḍ*, al-Munāwī's commentary on as-Suyūṭī's *al-Jāmi' aṣ-Ṣaghīr* (entitled *Fayḍ al-Qādir Sharḥ al-Jāmi' aṣ-Ṣaghīr*), Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī's *Īqāz al-Qawābil li 't-Taḡarrub bi 'n-Nawāfil*, and his own *Jāwī* predecessor, 'Abd ar-Ra'ūf as-Sinkilī's *Umdat al-Muḥtājīn* (quoted twice).<sup>24</sup>

It is also important at this point to highlight that al-Falimbānī pays special attention to the *fiqh* positions of the *Ṣūfīs*, often giving supporting examples of their rulings. For instance, on the question of the four *rakʿahs* supererogatory prayers before the obligatory *Zuhur* (midday) prayer, al-Falimbānī says that these are *sunnah muʿakkadah* (confirmed as *sunnah*) in the opinion of the *ahl at-taṣawwuf*.<sup>25</sup> He further relates that the two *rakʿahs* after the *Maghrib* (sunset) prayer are *sunnah muʿakkadah* according to the opinions of both the *ʿulamāʾ aṣ-Ṣūfiyyah* and the *fuqahāʾ* (jurists).<sup>26</sup> Whilst discussing the four *rakʿahs* supererogatory prayers after the *Jumʿah* congregational prayer (on Fridays), al-Falimbānī explains that the *fuqahāʾ* and the *ahl at-taṣawwuf* differ in that two *rakʿahs* are *sunnah muʿakkadah* and two afterwards are *sunnah ghayr muʿakkadah* (optional) in the judgment of the former, whereas all four or even up to six *rakʿahs* are *sunnah muʿakkadah* in the ruling of the latter.<sup>27</sup>

In addition, he points out the different opinions on *fiqh* questions according to the four Sunni *madhhabs*. For instance, although he adheres to the Shāfiʿī *madhhab*, on the usage of *az-zabād* (substance secreted by civet, used in perfumes), he says it is *makrūh* (disliked and discouraged) because it is *najis* (ritually impure) supporting his view with the opinion of the Ḥanbalī School of Islamic jurisprudence.<sup>28</sup> This, without doubt, shows his deep and wide perceptions in the field of *sharīʿah* law, in that he is able to broadly discuss the issue in question with ease. Perhaps this also indicates that he was broad-minded enough to consider the opinion of all four Sunni legal schools when he perceived one of them to be more acceptable to him regarding a particular issue. On one occasion in *Hidāyat as-Sālikīn*, he presents the opinion of the *muftī* of Medina in his time, his teacher Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī as an authoritative and reliable one (*qawl muʿtamad*) on the permissibility of accepting gifts from a ruler.<sup>29</sup>

Upon analysing the contents of the *Hidāyat as-Sālikīn* further, it becomes clear that the text is not only a translation of al-Ghazālī's *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah*, but has numerous additions taken from other sources. For instance, the *Hidāyat as-Sālikīn* is composed of a preface, seven chapters and conclusion, whilst al-Ghazālī's text only includes three major chapters and a conclusion. Thus, subjects found in the *Hidāyah* such as the benefits of useful knowledge (*al-ʿilm an-nāfiʿ*), the benefits of those who strive to



attain it, explicit explanations of the fundamentals of the Sunni creed, the 'way' (*kayfiyyah*) of acts of worship for various supererogatory prayers such as *al-ishrāq* (at sunrise), *al-istakhārah* (making a choice), *ad-ḍuḥā* (prayer at mid-morning), *at-tasbīḥ* (glorification), *al-ḥājah* (prayer for requesting a need), and numerous additions on the discussion of avoiding wrongdoing (*ijtināb al-ma'āṣī*), to name a few, are all inclusions from al-Falimbānī himself.<sup>30</sup>

It is thus clear that al-Falimbānī was not merely translating the *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah* but more precisely, he was rendering and transforming the work of al-Ghazālī to suit and cater for the needs of his students and to provide a better understanding to his compatriots who have little or no knowledge of Arabic as indicated in his prologue. This is reflected further in his *Sayr as-Sālikīn* where he refers to *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah* four times and strongly recommends it to the *mubtadī* (novice) seeking the *ṭarīqah*. He adds that it comprises all the essential components of *uṣūl ad-dīn*, *fiqh*, *taṣawwuf* and *dhikr* as well as ethics (*akhlāq*).<sup>31</sup>

The popularity of the *Hidāyat as-Sālikīn* is further proven not just from its wide usage in contemporary times, but also from the numerous editions and reprints that it underwent during the early publication period in the nineteenth century. This perhaps shows its popularity and its constant demand among the Malay students and the wider audience public. Throughout my research, I have been able to locate copies of several published editions of this text. These include, the earliest printed copy dated Rabī' al-Ākhir 1298/March 1881 in which the proof-reader, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Zayn al-Faṭānī (1856-1908), clearly indicates in the colophon that it was the first Malay text to be printed in Egypt by al-Maṭba'at al-Miṣriyyah, based on the handwritten copy of a certain Shaykh Ḥasan at-Tūkhī, who was perhaps an Egyptian calligrapher. Five years later, in 1303/1885, al-Maṭba'at al-Miriyyah in Mecca followed this by publishing their first edition of this work. On 25 Jumādā al-Ūlā 1311/4 December 1893, a copy written by Aḥmad b. Mulā Bahā' ad-Dīn, *khaṭīb* ad-Dābūl, possibly an Indian calligrapher, was printed in India in al-Maṭba'at al-Ḥasaniyyah, Bombay. In the same year, al-Maṭba'at al-Miriyyah, Mecca published another edition, perhaps its second, in Jumādā ath-Thānīyah 1311/December 1893. In Egypt, an edited copy by Ilyās Ya'qūb al-Azharī was published by Maṭba'at Dār Iḥyā' al-Kutub



al-‘Arabiyyah in Cairo on 15 Shawwāl 1342/20 May 1924.<sup>32</sup> Thus, we can see that this epistle was printed frequently in several places. It has remained popular until today, as numerous editions, mostly transliterated from the *Jāwī* text to the Romanised characters are readily available in bookstores.

It is worth noting that manuscript copies of the *Hidāyat as-Sālikīn* are abundantly available in most libraries holding Malay manuscripts.<sup>33</sup> Consulting these manuscript copies, it is evident that this text gained popularity even during the lifetime of al-Falimbānī himself. From these, I found two copies dated 19 Jumādā al-Ākhirah 1225/22 July 1810 and 15 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1236/13 September 1821, kept in the National Library of Malaysia and Leiden, respectively. Furthermore, the latter was transcribed in Buleleng, Bali, indicating that this text was already widely circulated in the Archipelago as early as the first quarter of the nineteenth century.<sup>34</sup>

From the wide attention it received, one would expect that the *Hidāyat as-Sālikīn* would catch the notice of other scholars, especially among the *Jāwīs* since it was written in Malay. Apart from proofreading the Egyptian and Meccan publications of this text, the aforementioned Aḥmad al-Faṭānī also wrote an encomium (*taqrīz*) in a rhyming poem in Arabic which clearly indicates the value of the contribution of al-Falimbānī, not only in translating, but also in supplementing al-Ghazālī’s work by using additional source.<sup>35</sup>

*Badā najmun fa-akhjala kulla najmin \* wa-lu’lu’in fī ‘uyūni*  
*‘n-nāzirīnā*

A star emerged abashing all other stars, as pearls in the eyes of  
observers

*Fa-ẓannu ash-shamsa tabzughu qultu lā, dhā \* kitābu hidāyatīn li*  
*‘s-sālikīnā*

They supposed the sun had risen, I said no, that is the book of  
Guidance to Spiritual Seekers

*Kitābun lāḥa yahdī kulla qāfīn \* sabīla al-awliyā’i al-muttaqīnā*  
A book that gleamed, guiding all followers to the path of the pious  
*walīs*

*Kitābun aḥsana at-ta’līfā fīhi \* al-Falimbānī imāmu aṣ-ṣāliḥīnā*

A book excellently written by al-Falimbānī leader of the righteous

*Fa-naẓẓama fīhi min kutub al-Ghazālī \* bi-mā qad kāna min durarin thamīnā*

He arranged in it from the books of al-Ghazālī of its priceless pearls

*Wa-ḍhamma ilayhi mim mā fī siwāhā \* yawāqīta al-hudā li 'l- 'āmilīnā*

Supplementing it from other sources, rubies of guidance for those who practice

Mutarjamatan bi-alsinati al-malāyū \* fa-kāna bi-hā kitāban mustabīnā

Translated into the tongue of the Malay, making it a clearly accessible book

*Tajallā ba'da mā ṭāla ikhtifāhu \* bi-ḥusni aṭ-ṭab'ī yurḍī aṭ-ṭālibīnā*

Manifested after prolonged absenc with excellent printing gratifying students

*Bi-himmatī man samā faḍli ilāha \* 'imādi al-fakhri najli al-akramīnā*

Determination of who exalted by grace of God, the prop of honour, the son of the noble

*Aqūlu mu'arrikhan idh tamma ṭab'an \* wa-an nithārahu fī 'l- 'ālamīnā*

I date it on the completion of this edition, spreading in the world like confetti

*aḥḥibbāyā injalā fa-anāra bi 'ṭ-ṭab'ī \* najmu hidāyatin li 's-sālikīna*

my beloved beget with printing illumine star of guidance for spiritual seekers

23 85 332 114 93 420 231<sup>36</sup>  
*wa-ṣalli wa-salliman Rabbī 'alā 'l-Muṣṭafā \* wa 'l-āli wa 'rḥamnā āmīnā*

God's blessing and peace upon the Prophet and his house and God's mercy upon us, amen.

It is important to consult the works of al-Falimbānī's *Jāwī* contemporaries and later generations to trace the attention his scholarship received and to highlight its importance in Malay scholarly literature. It is to be remembered that one of al-Falimbānī's students, Nawawī al-Bantanī, completed his Arabic text entitled *Marāqī al-'Ubūdiyyah Sharḥ 'alā Bidāyat al-Hidāyah*, a commentary on al-Ghazālī's *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah* on 13 Dhū al-Qa'dah 1289/12 January 1873, almost one decade before the first printed edition of al-Falimbānī's *Hidāyat as-Sālikīn* appeared. Upon analysing the *Marāqī al-'Ubūdiyyah*, it is obvious that al-Bantanī also benefited from the *Hidāyat as-Sālikīn*, quoting it twice as part of his Arabic commentary despite the fact that al-Falimbānī's book was written in Malay. For instance, on commenting on a section from *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah*, "wa-lā tu'allim aḥadan min ahlik ... miqdār mālīk, fainnahum in ra'awhu ...," al-Bantanī points out that the word *mālīk* is read as *mā-laka* i.e. what you have in terms of status (*martabah*) as chosen by Shaykh Yūsuf as-Sinbillāwaynī. However, he says it can also be correctly read *mālīk* (with a *kasrah*) i.e. your fortune or wealth, and this was the opinion of Shaykh 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad [al-Falimbānī].<sup>37</sup> Thus, consulting such works provides us with an insight into the scholarly intellectual nexus and the transmission of knowledge from one generation of Malay scholars to another.

The third major text from the above list of al-Falimbānī's writings is *Sayr as-Sālikīn ilā 'Ibādat Rabb al-'Ālamīn* (Journey of the Spiritual Seekers towards Worshiping the Lord of the Universe), which is in four volumes and according to al-Falimbānī himself, was completed in four stages. He began writing the first volume in 1193/1779, which was completed in Mecca early 1194/1780, the second was completed in aṭ-Ṭā'if on Saturday, 19 Ramaḍān 1195/8 September 1781, the third was completed in Mecca on Thursday, 19 Ṣafār 1197/23 January 1783, and the fourth and final volume was completed in aṭ-Ṭā'if on Sunday, 20 Ramaḍān 1203/14 June 1789. Thus, the work took roughly ten years to complete.

Analysing these dates, it can be deduced that it took al-Falimbānī approximately two years to complete each of the first three volumes and a further six years before he was able to complete the final volume. However, based on my research, it is evident that he was busy with other

writing projects during the six years between completing the third and fourth volumes. I have discovered a new epistle which he was working on between completing his third and fourth volumes (1197-1203/1783-1789). At this point it is important to point out that this epistle has never been mentioned by modern researchers, clearly indicating that it has not been known to modern scholarship. As further discussion on this epistle will follow shortly, it suffices to say that al-Falimbānī was writing on Islamic Law (*sharī'ah*) after finishing his third volume, since he completed the epistle in question in 1201/1787.

Undoubtedly, the *Sayr as-Sālikīn* is the most popular text and the most widely circulated of all al-Falimbānī's works in the Malay Archipelago and it is upon this that his fame is chiefly based. It is also clear that this work is the largest among his works, and like al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā'* on which it is primarily based, this was his magnum opus. In producing this text, al-Falimbānī followed a similar pattern as the *Hidāyat as-Sālikīn*, by supplementing al-Ghazālī's original work with his own additions taken from a variety of sources, which will be discussed shortly.

On giving an account on the scope of his work, al-Falimbānī mentions in his preface that God inspired him to translate into Malay the book of al-Ghazālī entitled *Lubāb Iḥyā' 'Ulūm ad-Dīn* (The Essentials of the Revival of the Sciences of Religion) which combines all the knowledge of *sharī'ah*, *uṣūl ad-dīn* and *taṣawwuf*, with [his own] precious additions deemed beneficial to those who have no knowledge of Arabic.<sup>38</sup> Though al-Falimbānī says that this text is a translation of al-Ghazālī's *Lubāb*, it is more accurate to describe it as an adaptation and rendition of it, as he includes his own expositions on al-Ghazālī's phrases to further clarify them, in addition to the substantial supplementary material taken from numerous other sources, including other works by al-Ghazālī himself.

It is important to consider the *Sayr as-Sālikīn* and al-Ghazālī's *Lubāb* together and give a brief outline of al-Falimbānī's objectives in producing this text. As indicated above, though al-Falimbānī clearly presents his work as a translation and adaptation of *Lubāb Iḥyā' 'Ulūm ad-Dīn*, the latter also known as *Mukhtaṣar Iḥyā' 'Ulūm ad-Dīn* (Abridgement of the Revival of the Sciences of Religion) and that he frequently mentions this name in his text, confusion still exists in modern studies which usually



assume that this work is a translation of al-Ghazālī's magnum opus *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm ad-Dīn* and not of the *Lubāb* or *Mukhtaṣar*. Upon further examination of the *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, it is evident that al-Falimbānī clearly distinguished between the two works of al-Ghazālī; he continuously differentiates between the *Mukhtaṣar* and the *Iḥyā'*.<sup>39</sup> This confusion is evidently due to the fact that the *Lubāb* or *Mukhtaṣar* of the *Iḥyā'* did not achieve the same fame as the *Iḥyā'* itself; most scholars have simply never been aware that al-Ghazālī himself composed an abridgement of his *Iḥyā'*. In fact, several biographers of al-Ghazālī, such as Ḥājī Khalīfah and al-Baghdādī, and modern scholars such as Ritter wrongly attributed this work to al-Ghazālī's younger brother Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ghazālī (d. 520/1126). In this regard, Ritter relates that "he [Aḥmad] wrote an abridged version of the *Kitāb al-Iḥyā'* of his brother [i.e. Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī] which has not survived."<sup>40</sup>

I was able to locate and consult one of the earliest copies of this *Mukhtaṣar Iḥyā'* in the Library of the University of Leiden.<sup>41</sup> This copy has printed in the margins of al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī's *Nuzhat an-Nāẓirīn fī Tafsīr Āyāt min Kitāb Rabb al-'Ālamīn*, as published by Dār al-Kutub al-'Arabiyyah in Egypt in 1328/1910.<sup>42</sup> It clearly shows in the prologue that al-Ghazālī himself abridged his own magnum opus *Iḥyā'* due to what he describes as the impracticability of carrying his voluminous work during travel. In his preface, al-Ghazālī says "it occurred to me during some of my travels to extract from *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm ad-Dīn* its pith due to the impracticability of carrying it along because of its enormous size. I embark on the task asking God to grant me success and supplicate Him for the best ..." (*qad 'anna lī fī ba'ḍ asfārī an astakhrij min Iḥyā' 'Ulūm ad-Dīn lubābahu li-ta'adhdhur istiṣḥābihi ma'a kibar ḥajmihi, fa-aqdamtu 'alā dhālik, mustawfiqan min Allāh wa-mustakhīran lahu* ...).<sup>43</sup> Thus, it is clear that al-Falimbānī primarily based his translation on the *Mukhtaṣar* (abridgement) of the *Iḥyā'* and not the original multi-volume *Iḥyā'*.

However, in terms of the arrangement of his text, al-Falimbānī follows al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā'* by dividing his work into four *arbā'* (quarters). The first comprises acts of worship (*al-'ibādāt*) dealing with creed, ritual purity, worship (*ṣalāt*), other types of prayer and devotion, almsgiving, fasting, and the pilgrimage; the second quarter deals with habitual acts

or norms of daily behaviour (*al-ʿādāt*) constituting books on proper conduct regarding eating habits, marriage, acquiring goods, travelling, and the like; the third quarter discusses mortal vices (*al-muḥlikāt*) about destructive wrongdoings, and, after two general books (i.e. chapters) on the mysteries of the heart and how to control and educate it, the book gives counsel with regard to the various vices discussed previously. The fourth quarter, on the ways to salvation (*al-munjiyāt*) deals with the various stages, states and aspects of the mystical life, such as penitence, patience, gratitude, renunciation, trust in God, and love of Him. However, unlike al-Falimbānī's *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, although the arrangement in the *Mukhtaṣar* followed that of the *Iḥyāʾ*, al-Ghazālī's abridgment did not follow the division into the four *arbāʿ* but only lists the contents according to chapters.

Closer analysis of the text further reveals that al-Falimbānī supplemented his work with substantial additions taken from numerous important Islamic works by renowned scholars of previous generations. He mentioned these sources in various places throughout his *Sayr as-Sālikīn* but specifically in the third volume, when he recommends his students to consult his list of *Ṣūfī* writings suitable for the three levels of competence, presenting them to match their abilities. According to al-Falimbānī, these works should be read by the *sālikīn* (travellers on the mystical path) progressively, from the most basic texts for the *mubtadī* (the novice), to more difficult for the *mutawassiṭ* (the intermediate), and finally to the most difficult and complex for the *muntahī* (the adept).<sup>44</sup> At this point, it is important to remember that evidently, al-Falimbānī was already teaching his students when he wrote his presumed first book, *Zahr al-Murīd*, in 1178/1765. However, the importance of his list<sup>45</sup> is that it indicates that by that time he composed the list he had reached the summit of his teaching career. He did not only list these numerous *Ṣūfī* writings, but evidently had read all of them as he was able to arrange them according to the different levels and aptitudes of his students. In addition, as we shall see shortly, al-Falimbānī was very familiar with these works and had deep and profound knowledge and experience of *taṣawwuf* in that he was able to provide commentary and opinions on all of these works.

To gain better insight into the additional materials he utilised, it is appropriate at this stage to give an outline of them. The number of *Ṣūfī* writings that al-Falimbānī lists as suitable for the varied abilities of his students comprises a total of one hundred and ten books, to be precise.<sup>46</sup> For the *mubtadī*, he listed fifty-five titles, including five works by al-Ghazālī, nine works by ash-Sha‘rānī, three works by ‘Abd al-Qādir al-‘Aydarūs, two works by Tāj ad-Dīn an-Naqshabandī al-Hindī and Ṣiddīq Khān al-Madanī respectively, five works by ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥaddād, six works each of Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī and as-Sammān, one work each of Abū aṭ-Ṭālib al-Makkī, al-Qushayrī, ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, as-Suhrawardī, Qāsim al-Khānī, Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī, al-Qushāshī, al-Kūrānī, and ‘Abd Allāh al-Mīrghanī, plus several works by other less prominent scholars. Al-Falimbānī also includes one work by his compatriot, as-Sinkīlī’s *‘Umdat al-Muḥtājīn* and recommends three of his own works, *Hidāyat as-Sālikīn*, *Sayr as-Sālikīn* and *al-‘Urwat al-Wuthqā* as suitable for this novice level. Most of these works are primary texts comprising all the essential components of *uṣūl ad-dīn*, *fiqh*, *taṣawwuf*, *dhikr* as well as *akhlāq*, stressing the conformity of *ṭarīqah* with *sharī‘ah* and the strict adherence to the latter before the *sālik* can achieve spiritual progress along his mystical journey.<sup>47</sup>

As for the *mutawassīṭ*, al-Falimbānī lists thirty-one titles, including three works by Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh, particularly his *al-Ḥikam* and its commentaries by Ibn ‘Abbād, Aḥmad al-Marzūqī, Ibn ‘Allān an-Naqshabandī and al-Qushāshī, the latter, according to al-Falimbānī was the most complex and profound commentary on *al-Ḥikam*.<sup>48</sup> He then lists a work by Raslān ad-Dimashqī wrongly titled as *al-Ḥikam*. However, from the title of its commentary, *Faṭḥ ar-Raḥmān* by Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī listed next, it is clear that this was Raslān ad-Dimashqī’s *Risālah fī ‘t-Tawḥīd*. On describing the *Faṭḥ ar-Raḥmān*, al-Falimbānī relates that this was the first text that he read with as-Sammān when he started his studies with him.<sup>49</sup>

Moreover, he mentions a commentary by ‘Abd al-Ghanī an-Nābulusī on the work of Raslān. Though he does not provide any title for this commentary, it is clear that an-Nābulusī wrote a commentary on Raslān’s *Risālah* entitled *Khamrat al-Ḥān wa-Rannat al-Alhān*. There is an error in Raslān’s book title in al-Falimbānī’s list, perhaps by the



scribe. It is worth pointing out another error, probably by the scribe, here an-Nābulusī was described as the teacher of as-Sammān (*Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghanī an-Nābulusī guru shaykh kita Sīdī Muḥammad as-Sammān*).<sup>50</sup> However, as far as I know, as-Sammān had never studied directly with an-Nābulusī; in fact, he was his grand-pupil through Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī. When an-Nābulusī died in 1731, as-Sammān was only thirteen years old. This is further supported by a note in the *Sayr as-Sālikīn* itself, which clearly reveals that as-Sammān did not study with an-Nābulusī as he was mentioned as a student of al-Bakrī, who in turn was a disciple of an-Nābulusī. In this regard, al-Falimbānī relates "... *Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghanī an-Nābulusī, yaitu guru Sīdī Shaykh Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī, yaitu guru shaykh kita Sīdī Shaykh as-Sammān*" [... an-Nābulusī, a teacher of al-Bakrī, who was a teacher of as-Sammān].<sup>51</sup> Al-Falimbānī then completes his list by including several theological works such as an-Nābulusī's *Miftāḥ al-Ma'īyyah fī 'ṭ-Ṭarīqat an-Naqshabandiyyah*, ash-Sha'rānī's *al-Jawāhir wa 'l-Yawāqūt*, Muḥammad Ghawth's *al-Jawāhir al-Khams*, and several other works of al-Jīlānī, al-Bakrī, as-Sammān and Ṣiddīq al-Madanī.

The final and highest stage that the spiritual mystical traveller can attain is the level of the *muntahī*, where they are exposed to the most complex works on *taṣawwuf*, which are to an extent, controversial to non-*Ṣūfīs*. On top of the list for this level, consisting of twenty-four titles, are the works of Ibn al-'Arabī, which include his *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyyah*, *Mawāqī' an-Nujūm* and *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, with commentaries on the latter by Munlā 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Jāmī, an-Nābulusī and 'Alī al-Mahāyimī (or al-Mahā'imī), al-Jīlī's *al-Insān al-Kāmil*, al-Ghazālī's *as-Sirr al-Maḍnūn bi-hi 'alā Ghayr Ahlih*,<sup>52</sup> *Mishkāt al-Anwār*,<sup>53</sup> *al-Maqṣad al-Asnā fī Ma'nā Asmā' Allāh al-Ḥusnā*<sup>54</sup> and several chapters on 'ilm al-ḥaqīqah in his *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm ad-Dīn*, such as *kitāb aṣ-ṣabr*, *kitāb ash-shukr*, *kitāb al-maḥabbah*, *kitāb at-tawḥīd* and the beginning of *kitāb at-tawakkul* (all these are actually main chapters in the *Iḥyā'*), al-Burhānpūrī's *at-Tuḥfat al-Mursalāh* and its commentaries, including al-Kūrānī's *Ithāf adh-Dhakī* and an-Nābulusī's *Nukhbat al-Mas'alāh Sharḥ at-Tuḥfat al-Mursalāh*<sup>55</sup> and his *Īdāḥ al-Maqṣūd min Ma'nā Waḥdat al-Wujūd*, ash-Sha'rānī's *Lawāqīḥ al-Anwār* and *Kashf al-Ḥijāb*, ash-Shinnāwī's *Mir'āt al-Ḥaqā'iq* and its commentary, 'Alī al-Mahāyimī's *Irādat ad-Daqā'iq*, and al-Kūrānī's *al-Maslak al-Mukhtār fī Ma'rifat aṣ-*



*Ṣādir al-Awwal wa-Aḥdāth al-‘Ālam bi ‘l-Ikhtiyār*. Finally, al-Falimbānī includes three works of his *Jāwī* predecessors, as-Sumatrānī’s *Jawhar al-Ḥaqā’iq* and *Tanbīh at-Tullāb fī Ma‘rifat al-Malik al-Wahhāb*, and as-Sinkīlī’s *Ta’yīd al-Bayān Ḥāshiyat Ḫdāḥ al-Bayān fī Taḥqīq Masā’il al-A’yān*, and concluding the list with his own work, *Zād al-Muttaqīn fī Tawḥīd Rabb al-‘Ālamīn*.

It is important to remark that from the above lists, it is evident that al-Falimbānī himself had attained the highest level of the *sālikīn*; firstly, because he was allowed to read such advanced works with his teachers; secondly, fully grasping their contents, he was able to categorise them and recommend them further to other *muntahī*; and thirdly and most significantly, he was competent in teaching these works to his students and in composing a work in the most advanced category; and finally, he was able to give his opinion regarding which among these works are more complicated or superior than the others. This is evident, for instance from his comments on the commentaries of al-Burhānpūrī’s *at-Tuḥfat* when he relates “... *at-Tuḥfat al-Mursalāh* by al-Burhānpūrī and its commentaries by al-Kūrānī, and *Nukhbat al-Mas’alah Sharḥ at-Tuḥfat al-Mursalāh* by an-Nābulusī ... and several other commentaries which I read. However, the commentary by an-Nābulusī was the best out of all the commentaries I had seen.”<sup>56</sup>

Thus, with supplementary material excerpted from these writings, one can expect that his *Sayr as-Sālikīn* was far from being merely a translation of al-Ghazālī’s work. Moreover, it should be noted that these were not the only books al-Falimbānī utilised for his comments as he clearly mentioned, for instance on questions relating to *fiqh*, he alludes to a number of *fiqh* books which he consulted and quoted but without naming them.<sup>57</sup> In addition to the above list of *taṣawwuf* books recommended for the *mubtadī*, he points out there are yet several other books suitable for this stage but does not name them, explaining that the list he provided (fifty-five titles) is more than sufficient for them.<sup>58</sup>

A particularly important point that we can deduce from analysing this list, is that al-Falimbānī was fully aware that his works, including his *Sayr as-Sālikīn* would eventually be accessible not only to his students in Mecca but also to his compatriots back in the Malay Archipelago. Realising this, he took the opportunity to list almost all major books

of *taṣawwuf* (one hundred and ten titles) arranging them into three levels suitable for the varied abilities of his students, and at the same time, indirectly telling the *Jāwī* learners which of these works were to be read and which were to be reserved only for the elite, as they were to be studied sequentially. This hypothesis perhaps finds its support by looking back at the earlier three distinct categories of people from the Malay Archipelago with whom al-Falimbānī disagrees in his *Zahr al-Murīd*. Thus, by understanding and being fully aware of the relevant books appropriate for both reading and teaching according to the three levels of competency, the Muslim public would be guided in their daily religious life and guarded from deviant teachings of the ignorant. Further evidence can be extracted from the *Sayr as-Sālikīn* itself as al-Falimbānī advise and warn saying “however, the *taṣawwuf* teachings included in the discussion of the *‘ilm al-ḥaqīqah* from the books for the third level [the *muntahī*] are of no benefit to others, save the *muntahī*, conversely, the *mubtadī* who had not fully comprehend the *sharī‘ah* and the aspect of *ṭarīqah*, might be led astray or even to heresy by such works.”<sup>59</sup> This is perhaps the most logical reason why al-Falimbānī included three works from his *Jāwī* predecessors among the books for the *muntahī*, indicating that they should not be read save by the adepts.

Without properly consulting the *Sayr as-Sālikīn* and fully understanding the nature of al-Falimbānī's works, this has often led modern scholars to accuse him of smuggling ideas and teachings alien to al-Ghazālī into his work. Among such scholars, is our contemporary Abdul Fatah Haron, who claims that al-Falimbānī's *Sayr as-Sālikīn* is confusing as it does not accord with the content of al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā’*, with numerous additions from unnamed sources unavailable in the latter.<sup>60</sup> The Dutch scholar, Martin van Bruinessen also maintains that al-Falimbānī successfully smuggled into his Malay adaptations of al-Ghazālī's works some of the rejected doctrines, especially in his *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, such as elements of *waḥdat al-wujūd* taken from other sources, which seemed, according to van Bruinessen, quite alien to al-Ghazālī's Sunni mysticism.<sup>61</sup> However, this was not the case, as shown above; al-Falimbānī himself clearly points out that aside from translating the works of al-Ghazālī, he did not ‘smuggle,’ but supplemented his work with invaluable additions that he deemed beneficial, particularly to those

who have little or no command of Arabic, and furthermore that these additional sources were clearly enumerated in his text.

An example of such additions which al-Falimbānī deemed beneficial was the discussion on *maqāmāt an-naḥs as-sab‘ah* or ‘the seven stages of the soul’ which is portrayed as a journey of the soul within oneself to the Absolute and to the attainment of perfection.<sup>62</sup> As well as the *Ṣūfī* doctrine of *martabat tujuh* or *al-marātib as-sab‘ah* (the seven grades of being).<sup>63</sup> Deeper analysis of the text makes it clear that al-Falimbānī based his discussion on his knowledge of numerous important *Ṣūfī* literatures such as Qāsim al-Khānī’s *as-Sayr wa ‘s-Sulūk* further expanding al-Ghazālī’s existing three stages into *maqāmāt an-naḥs as-sab‘ah*,<sup>64</sup> and quotes as authoritative sources al-Burhānpūrī’s *at-Tuḥfat al-Mursalah*, and works by Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī, and as-Sammān for his discussion on *martabat tujuh*.<sup>65</sup> In fact, al-Ghazālī himself alludes to this issue in his discussion of the four levels of *tawḥīd* in his book (or chapter) on *tawakkul*. However, he purposely does not elaborate profoundly as he says that it is impossible to reveal such secrets, further quoting a *Ṣūfī* phrase “revealing the Divine secret is unbelief” (*ifshā ‘sirr ar-rubūbiyyah kufr*).<sup>66</sup>

Such confusion is again evident to those who do not comprehend or might be worried about the intended mystical meaning of *Ṣūfī* terminology. For instance, Haron was clearly confused in that he interpolates the popular *Ṣūfī* teaching of *martabat tujuh* with the *Ṣūfī* doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd*, and further accuses such dogma of deviation from the proper teaching of the *sharī‘ah*. He adds, though the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd* was championed by scholars such as Hamzah al-Faṣṣūrī, Shams ad-Dīn as-Sumāṭrānī, Nūr ad-Dīn ar-Rānīrī, Muḥammad b. Faḍl Allāh al-Burhānpūrī, ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī, Dāwūd al-Faṭānī, Muḥammad Nafīs al-Banjārī, and others, he believes that such teaching resembles the teaching of the esoterics (*al-Bāṭiniyyah*). To further support his arguments, Haron quotes as an authoritative source, Aḥmad al-Khaṭīb al-Minkābāwī’s (d. 1334/1916) *ash-Shumūs al-Lāmi‘ah fī Radd Bida‘ Ahl ‘l-Marātib as-Sab‘ah*.<sup>67</sup>

However, on consulting this work, it is clear that al-Minkābāwī himself did not oppose the teaching of *martabat tujuh*. He relates, “I, a destitute and weak person Aḥmad Khaṭīb al-Minkābāwī ... the Imām and Khaṭīb (orator) of the Shāfi‘ī shrine (*al-Maqām ash-Shāfi‘ī*), who lectures



at al-Masjid al-Ḥarām says, in 1328/1910 a question posed and sent from the Archipelago regarding a short epistle attributed to al-Ghazālī on the question of *martabat tujuh*, requesting clarification whether it was his work or not, and whether the contents were sound or not, as the masses of the *Jāwīs* had strayed in believing that this was the esoteric knowledge or *‘ilm al-bāṭin* according to the perception of *sharī‘ah* and further believing that whoever did not study this text is prone to die in *kufīr*, a reason that leads the ignorant to diligently learn this work. Upon my perusal, I found the contents were lies, none were teachings of al-Ghazālī or the scholars of Islam, and generally it contains blasphemy to words of God and His Prophet which leads to the hell fire.”<sup>68</sup> Such teaching, according to al-Minkābāwī, was adopted from the *Ṣūfī* doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd* by the ignorant who do not even understand the teaching at all, and do not grasp the meaning of the terminologies understood only by the adepts.<sup>69</sup> Thus, al-Minkābāwī did not reject the *Ṣūfī* teachings of *martabat tujuh*, however, he stresses that such texts contains terminologies which can only be comprehended by those who had attained the specific stages, and reminds the masses that such knowledge is only apprehended by those who comply with and fully adhere to the *sharī‘ah*.<sup>70</sup>

It is important to recall al-Ghazālī’s own opinion on the *Ṣūfīs* so that we are aware of and able to compare the perception that al-Falimbānī had of them. In describing the ways of *taṣawwuf*, al-Ghazālī says “I knew that the complete mystic ‘way’ includes both intellectual belief and practical activity; the latter consists in getting rid of the obstacles in the self and in stripping off its base characteristics and vicious morals, so that the heart may attain to freedom from what is not God and to constant recollection of Him.”<sup>71</sup>

According to al-Ghazālī, though he advanced to the highest possible comprehension of the intellectual side of *Ṣūfism* by acquainting himself through reading books such as Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī’s *Qūt al-Qulūb*, the works of al-Ḥārith al-Muḥāsibī, the various narratives about al-Junayd, ash-Shiblī and Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī, and other discourses of their leading men, plus by oral instruction in the knowledge of *taṣawwuf*, he confessed that what is most distinctive of *taṣawwuf* is something which cannot be apprehended by study, but rather only by *dhawq* (immediate experience), by ecstasy and by a moral change.<sup>72</sup> On realising this, al-Ghazālī without



hesitation shows his advocacy by pointing out that the *Ṣūfīs* were men who had real experiences, not men of words, and that he had progressed to the furthest possible stage by way of intellectual apprehension. What remained was not to be attained by oral instruction and study, but only by *dhawq* and by walking in the *Ṣūfīs* way.<sup>73</sup>

Al-Ghazālī's own words clearly reveal that although he does not proclaim the *Ṣūfī* doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd* directly, he indicates that he supports and believes in it. In his *Iḥyā'*, on the discussion of different *awrād* according to different circumstances, he says, "let it be known that the novice disciple (*al-murīd*) who cultivates for the Hereafter, the traveller on its path, can only be in one of these six states: he is either a worshipper, or a savant, or a learner, or a leader, or a practitioner, or a *muwaḥḥid* (adherent of the absolute Oneness) absorbed in the One and only Eternal God ... the sixth: the *muwaḥḥid* absorbed in the One and only Eternal God whose concerns have become a single concern, he does not love save God, does not fear except God, does not anticipate livelihood from other than God, does not see anything but sees God Most High in it. Those who attained this high stage, do not need a variety or range of *awrād*, rather his special *wird* after his five daily prayers (*al-maktūbāt*), is a single formula, which is the continuous presence of his heart with God in every state all the time."<sup>74</sup>

This comes quite close to elements of *waḥdat al-wujūd*. Thus, to understand al-Falimbānī and his teachings better, we should place him in this context, fully aware that he must have attained these stages, which are only known to and experienced by the *Ṣūfīs* not only by way of intellectual apprehension but also through spiritual experience (*dhawq*).

To highlight further al-Falimbānī's contributions to the Malay intellectual life, we next turn to the history of the Archipelago. Before the eighteenth century, al-Ghazālī was known to some extent to the Malay Archipelago through citations of his works occasionally in the writings of al-Falimbānī's predecessors. However, it was not until the eighteenth century that al-Ghazālī was widely introduced to the Malay audience when al-Falimbānī became the first *Jāwī* scholar to fully translate two of his works, *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah* and *Lubāb* or *Mukhtaṣar Iḥyā' 'Ulūm ad-Dīn*. With these translations, not only did al-Falimbānī place al-Ghazālī and his works in the highest stature for Malay *Ṣūfism*, but he

also indirectly made such works readily available to the masses in the Archipelago. In fact, through his *Hidāyat as-Sālikīn* and *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, al-Falimbānī further illustrates to the ignorant and those who had been led astray, the orthodox *Ṣūfī* teachings of al-Ghazālī which harmonise and are in accord with the sound teachings of those profound *Ṣūfī* masters often accused of unorthodoxy such as Ibn al-‘Arabī, al-Jīlī, al-Hallāj, al-Jīlānī, al-Junayd al-Baghdādī, and his *Jāwī* predecessors such as as-Sumatrānī and as-Sinkīlī. At the same time, he introduces the moderate approach of al-Ghazālī whose ethics preponderates over the occult elements of *taṣawwuf* and further stresses the importance of compliance with the *sharī‘ah* law and conformity with religious observances; in this way al-Falimbānī strives to pull the masses back into the mainstream of sound *taṣawwuf* teachings.

Thus, it is clear that his translating al-Ghazālī's works, let alone his own rendering and additions, is more than enough evidence to highlight one of al-Falimbānī major contributions to the intellectual spiritual development of the *Jāwīs*, moulding the socio-religious life in the Malay Archipelago. Moreover, the numerous additions to his translations indirectly bring the rich Islamic scholarly works to the Malay world, which were previously not easily accessible or even unknown to them. Hence, al-Falimbānī's works, especially the *Sayr as-Sālikīn* and *Hidāyat as-Sālikīn*, should be credited as the causal agents that brought the influence of al-Ghazālī into the Malay world particularly through his *Ihyā’* and his other works.

On consulting the writings of al-Falimbānī's *Jāwī* contemporaries and later generations, it is evident that his pioneering effort in introducing the works of al-Ghazālī to the Malay Archipelago was then followed by later scholars. For instance, Dāwūd al-Faṭānī accomplished his own Malay translation of al-Ghazālī's *Minhāj al-‘Ābidīn* entitled *Minhāj al-‘Ābidīn ilā Jannat Rabb al-‘Ālamīn* on Friday, 15 Jumādā al-Ākhirah 1240/4 February 1825, almost four decades after al-Falimbānī completed his rendering of al-Ghazālī's *Lubāb al-Iḥyā’*.<sup>75</sup>

Since the *Sayr as-Sālikīn* was al-Falimbānī's magnum opus, one can expect that its popularity and circulation is wider than any of his other works. Evidently, this text was his most popular and enjoyed the most prevalence among his works. Up to the present time, numerous

manuscript copies are preserved in different libraries holding Malay collections, in addition, several publications and modern editions rendered into Romanised text are readily available in bookstores. Furthermore, the *Sayr as-Sālikīn* is still widely used as a textbook in *pesantren* in Malaysia and Indonesia to the present day.<sup>76</sup> The earliest edition that I was able to locate was printed in 1306/1888 by Maḥmūd al-Labānī al-Makkī, a lithographic print from a hand written copy by Shaykh Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Ashī in 1294/1877, who resided in *Dā'irat Qushāshiyah* (Qushāshi Circle) in Mecca. This was then followed by the first edition published in Būlāq, Egypt by al-Maṭba'at al-Amīriyyah in 1309/1891.<sup>77</sup> In addition, Drewes mentioned another edition printed in Cairo in 1372/1952.<sup>78</sup> More recent editions were published in Indonesia, Singapore, Thailand and Malaysia which are still widely circulated and readily available in bookstores. This proves that it has not fallen into disuse. Moreover, this text is now widely published in its Romanised edition to penetrate a larger audience, particularly those who cannot read the original *Jāwī* text. It is worth noting that among the manuscript copies that I have sighted, there is a copy written in Mecca dated 4 Rabi' al-Awwal 1211/6 September 1796.<sup>79</sup> Looking at the date, this copy was made within less than eight years after al-Falimbānī completed his final volume (in Ramaḍān 1203/June 1789). Further, this copy was written during the lifetime of al-Falimbānī and perhaps the scribe himself was one of his students, though further research needs to be done.

The fourth text from al-Falimbānī's list of writings is *al-'Urwat al-Wuthqā wa-Silsilat al-Walī al-Atqā* (The Firmest Bond and the Genealogical Spiritual Chain of the Most Pious Saint). Though this text is undated, al-Falimbānī himself cited it twice in his *Hidāyat as-Sālikīn* and once in his *Sayr as-Sālikīn*.<sup>80</sup> From this, we can deduce that it must have been written before 1192/1778, the year he completed the *Hidāyat as-Sālikīn*.

This text share one characteristic with a small number of al-Falimbānī's other writings in that there is no date or place of completion. A number of questions are raised regarding this especially when looking at al-Falimbānī's meticulous practice of dating and citing of sources. All of the undated texts except one are collections of litanies and supplications, which internal evidence suggests he received directly from as-Sammān



himself. We know from his earliest writing, *Zahrat al-Murīd* that his practice was to date his work from the beginning of his writing career. We also know that he continued to date his writings after meeting as-Sammān. In short, his later writings are dated and all mention as-Sammān. Why didn't he date *ʿUrwat al-Wuthqā* and his other writings?

The first clue is that in his *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, al-Falimbānī describes the collection of litanies as being received directly from the teachings of as-Sammān. The second clue is from *ʿUrwat al-Wuthqā* itself when he mentions in the introduction that he received this compilation from as-Sammān in the context of making the pledge of allegiance (*bayʿah*) to his teacher and by direct oral transmission (*talqīn*).<sup>81</sup> The third clue is that this compilation and the other undated writings are not intellectual in nature; they are simply collections of litanies and supplications for use in daily practise. For someone who had begun to establish himself as a scholar, such a person would not circulate and publish a simple collection of *awrād* meant for his personal use. Thus, I theorise that he must have written it in Medina during his period of study with as-Sammān, 1181-86/1766-72, most likely for his personal use when he was advancing in his spiritual journey. Perhaps, this is evident in the *silsilah* of the previously mentioned manuscript copy of this text which shows that his student, Maḥmūd [b. Kinān al-Falimbānī] handed it down further to his student, Sulaymān of Lambirah, Aceh,<sup>82</sup> obviously written by al-Falimbānī's grand-pupil.

At this point, it suffices to say that the *al-ʿUrwat al-Wuthqā* consists of *kayfiyyat talqīn* and *bayʿah*, *awrād* of as-Sammān to be recited after *ʿishāʾ* and *subḥ*, *ḥizb an-Nawawī*, the acclaimed compilations of *duʿāʾ* and litanies by Imām an-Nawawī, the *ḥizb al-baḥr* by ash-Shādhilī, *wird as-saḥar* (midnight litany) by Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī, and finally a *mubhijah* (delightful litany) attributed to as-Sammān.<sup>83</sup> It is also evident from this text that al-Falimbānī inclines towards *taṣawwuf* as he gives emphasis to the *fiqh* positions of the *Ṣūfīs*. For instance, on the question of the *tahajjud* prayer (the late-night supererogatory prayer), al-Falimbānī says it is *sunnah muʾakkadah* in the opinion of the Shāfiʿī *madhhab*, conversely, it is *wājib* (obligatory) to the *Ṣūfīs* (*ahl aṭ-ṭarīqah*).<sup>84</sup>

It is worth mentioning that in the *al-ʿUrwat al-Wuthqā*, al-Falimbānī provides his *silsilah* for the Khalwatiyyah Sammāniyyah Order, showing



his spiritual pedigree started with as-Sammān, followed by al-Bakrī, then back to numerous *Ṣūfī* Masters such as Mamshād ad-Dīnawārī, al-Junayd al-Baghdādī, as-Sarī as-Saqatī, Ma'rūf al-Karkhī, Dāwūd aṭ-Ṭā'ī, and al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, and back to 'Alī, to the Prophet SAW, to Jibrīl (Gabriel) and to God, the Most Exalted; counting thirty-six intermediaries between al-Falimbānī and the Prophet SAW himself. However, by comparing this *silsilah* with those recorded in *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, as-Sammān's and al-Ḥifnī's *silsilah*, which should accord as both received the same Order from the same al-Bakrī, I found at least three names were missing in al-Falimbānī's *silsilah*, which can be corrected by comparing all these sources.<sup>85</sup> It is to be remembered that in terms of *ḥadīth* narrations, this chain of Khalwatiyyah *silsilah*, according to al-Fādānī is not reliable as it was strongly criticised by leading *muḥaddiths* such as adh-Dhahabī, al-Mizzī, Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ, al-'Alā'ī and Ibn Kathīr.<sup>86</sup>

According to al-Falimbānī, *al-'Urwat al-Wuthqā* was written in Arabic.<sup>87</sup> However, none of the existing manuscript copies known thus far are in Arabic; all are written in *Jāwī*. Further description of the Arabic *al-'Urwat al-Wuthqā* by al-Falimbānī indicates that it contained *ḥadīth* on the merits of *dhikr* and the call to increase it,<sup>88</sup> which completely differs from the aforementioned contents. Thus, perhaps it must have been another work carrying a similar title or an addendum to the existing text.

The fifth text from al-Falimbānī's above listed writings is *Rātib [ash-]Shaykh 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī* (Regular Invocations of Shaykh 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī). This text is the second undated writing of al-Falimbānī. The only manuscript copy available thus far is evidently copied after his death as it includes *kaifiyyat ziyārat* as-Sammān and 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī, which refers to the prayers to be read for them when visiting their graves and also includes the dates of their *ḥawl* (anniversary of the death). Furthermore, as already mentioned earlier, the unnamed scribe refers to al-Falimbānī as *shaykhunā* (our teacher) and dates this copy on Friday, 27 Rajab 1266/8 June 1850.<sup>89</sup>

As for the contents, the *Rātib* is a compilation of regular voluntary invocations from selections of the Qur'ān, the Prophetic traditions selected from the *ḥadīth*, and special litanies to be recited a certain number of times. It can be recited individually or in a *majlis* (assembly)

of *dhikr*. It also includes *awrād* received from as-Sammān to be recited after each of the five daily prayers (*Ṣubḥ*, *Ẓuhur*, *ʿAṣr*, *Maghrib* and *ʿIshāʾ*), and the aforementioned *ḥizb al-baḥr* and *ḥizb an-Nawawī*.<sup>90</sup> It is worth noting that just by comparing the size, the contents of the *Rātib* is more comprehensive than *al-ʿUrwat al-Wuthqā*, as they are written in eighty-seven and forty-one folios, respectively. As this is merely a compilation, it does not tell us much about the intellectual nature of ʿAbd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī. However, the *Rātib* itself can perhaps help further to accentuate the stature of as-Sammān as a *Ṣūfī* master and perpetuate him in later generations.

The sixth title from the above listed writings of al-Falimbānī is *Naṣīḥat al-Muslimīn wa-Tadhkirat al-Muʾminīn fī Faḍāʾil al-Jihād fī Sabīl Allāh wa-Karāmat al-Mujāhidīn fī Sabīl Allāh* (Counsel to the Muslims and Reminder for the Believers on the Virtue of *Jihād* and the Dignity of the Fighters in the way of God), a fully Arabic work which, according to al-Falimbānī himself, was completed in Mecca. However, due to obliteration of the last two words the date of completion is illegible and only read: “*yawm as-sabt khāmis wa-ʿishrīn min shahr Jumādā al-Ūlā al-mubārak sanat alf wa-miʾah ...*” (Saturday, 25 Jumādā al-Ūlā 11... ). However, by calculation, I was able to figure the date as the 25 Jumādā al-Ūlā of 1187 which falls on Saturday. Therefore, this text was completed in Mecca, on Saturday, 25 Jumādā al-Ūlā 1187/14 August 1773 and evidently, the first dated work that tells us he was already a student of as-Sammān by this time.

With this date, we now have a better visualisation of al-Falimbānī's life and activities in Arabia. Since the discovery of the earlier mentioned two letters written by al-Falimbānī in Mecca, intended for the two Javanese princes which were intercepted by the Dutch authorities in Semarang, Indonesia, there have been no new findings on al-Falimbānī. Though Drewes provides us with the English translation of these letters, we do not have the originals of these letters since the discovered copies were the Dutch renditions of the Javanese translations of the original Arabic letters.<sup>91</sup> Presumably both the Arabic and Javanese copies were destroyed and had never reached the intended princes. In addition, we cannot be certain that the translations were not influenced by preconceived ideas

of the colonial authorities as the issue dealt with was a delicate matter to the Colonising Dutch Government.

At this point, it is important to note that from the evidence that al-Falimbānī corresponds with the rulers of Java, Drewes unhesitatingly concluded that the anonymous treatise entitled *Tuhfat ar-Raghibin* was the work of al-Falimbānī on the behest of the Sulṭān of Palembang. However, as we shall see shortly, my research has found that both Voorhoeve and Drewes wrongfully attributed this text to him.

According to Drewes, the letters were translated in Semarang on 22 May 1772 [19 Ṣafar 1186].<sup>92</sup> Thus, we can assume that al-Falimbānī wrote and dispatched these letters from Mecca at least several months earlier. It is probably because of his deep concern for his homeland, as I had shown earlier, that al-Falimbānī travelled back to the Malay Archipelago and arrived in Ramaḍān 1186/November 1772. However, based on the above new date of the completion of the *Naṣīḥat al-Muslimīn*, evidently he did not stay long. This, as I theorise, was perhaps due to intercepted letters that indicate his movement was constantly monitored by the Dutch. Reasonably, for his dissatisfaction with the Dutch encroachment, the treatment he received during his stay and concern for his homeland had probably inspired him to write this text upon his return to Mecca. Otherwise, the question can be asked as to what made al-Falimbānī suddenly write on *jihād* when we know that at this time he was inclining more towards Ṣūfism through his adherence to as-Sammān. On deeper analysis however, it suffices to say that evidently as-Sammān had never promoted any revivalist or reformist ideas through his works and teachings.

The *Naṣīḥat al-Muslimīn* has always been characterised by the Dutch as an invocation or incitement to *jihād* by fervent admonitions to holy war against infidels, so that Voorhoeve even described *jihād* as one of al-Falimbānī's 'specialities.'<sup>93</sup> Snouck Hurgronje maintains that this text had influenced the Achenese author, Nya' Aḥmad to compose a *hikāyat* of two thousand verses entitled *Nasihat Ureuëng Muprang* in August 1894, which according to Snouck is a fanatical exhortation of all believers, in particular the Achehnese, to launch *jihād* against all unbelievers including the Dutch. He adds that Nya' Aḥmad ranked this as the highest religious obligation and considered the reward of *jihād* as



greater than any other good deed, although if one's *niyyah* (intention) is not free from the taint of worldly motives.<sup>94</sup> However, I could not verify this claim as I have not found a copy of this work. Further research should be done to critically analyse the content of this text as to what extent he did use al-Falimbānī's work as his source.

On the contrary, one can certainly argue that the general sense of dissatisfaction with conditions at the time, especially the interference of Western powers, particularly the Dutch East Indies Company in the Malay Archipelago, and a sense of hope for improvement and the courage of patriotism, was a more reasonable factor to inspire al-Falimbānī to write the *Naṣīḥat al-Muslimīn*. Furthermore, this text is perhaps more appropriately considered a representation of al-Falimbānī's lament on the current political situation in the Archipelago, rather than a 'fanatical' call to *jihād*. It also indicates the growing repulsive stance of the '*ulamā*' against the Dutch regime as their presence in the Archipelago, though initially was solely for trade, later due to greed of monopolising and controlling the spice trade, had changed into efforts to subject the *Jāwī* archipelago to colonial rule.<sup>95</sup>

Although the *Naṣīḥat al-Muslimīn* was mentioned by everyone including Brockelmann above, it is clear that most scholars did not consult the text thoroughly, if at all.<sup>96</sup> At this point, it is important to point out that the only two known copies of this text exist in its manuscript form; both in Jakarta National Library.<sup>97</sup> I have primarily based my reading and research on the Leiden microfilm copy, a duplicate of one of these copies.<sup>98</sup> If earlier modern scholars had consulted the text, they would have seen that the contents were primarily excerpts from the Qur'ān and the Prophetic SAW traditions quoting from numerous *ḥadīth* sources including al-Bukhārī, at-Tirmidhī, Muslim, Abū Dāwūd, an-Nasā'ī, Ibn Ḥibbān, Ibn Mājah, al-'Uqaylī (perhaps from his *aḍ-Ḍu'afā' al-Kabīr*), Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal, at-Ṭabarānī, al-Ḥākim, as-Suyūṭī's *Ḥāshiyah 'alā Sunan an-Nasā'ī*, interpretation of Qur'ānic verses from *Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī* and *Tafsīr al-Manāwī*, and other traditional works dealing with this subject, including ash-Sha'rānī's *Kashf al-Ghummah*, an-Nawawī's *Minhāj [at-Ṭālibīn]*, Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī's *Fath al-Bārī* cited twice, and Abū Nu'aym's *Ḥilyat [al-Awliyā' wa-Ṭabaqāt al-Aṣfiyā']*.<sup>99</sup>



Close analysis of the text shows that al-Falimbānī explicitly clarifies the law of *jihād*, quoting an-Nawawī's *Minhāj* as an authoritative source, saying that if the *kuffār* occupied the land of Islam with the intention of destruction, *jihād* at that instant becomes an individual obligation (... *yakūn al-kuffār dakhalū baldat al-Islām qāsidīn kharābah, fa 'l-jihād ḥīna 'idhin farḍ 'ayn ...*).<sup>100</sup> Furthermore, al-Falimbānī clearly points out in his epilogue (*khātimah*) that most of the *ḥadīths* in his *Naṣīḥat al-Muslimīn* were excerpts from as-Suyūṭī's *al-Jāmi' aṣ-Ṣaghūr*, a collection of *ḥadīth qawli* (sayings of the Prophet SAW) of his *Jam' al-Jawāmi'*, with the addition of a number of *ḥadīth qawli* omitted from that work, 'Abd al-Wahhāb ash-Sha'rānī's *Kashf al-Ghummaḥ 'an Jamī' al-Ummaḥ* (Unveiling the Sorrow off the Whole Community), and principally relying on Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī's *Maslak ar-Rashād ilā 'l-Aḥādīth al-Wāridah fī Faḍl al-Jihād* (The Guided Path on the *Ḥadīths* Narrated on the merit of *Jihād*).<sup>101</sup>

Thus, from the above discussion I should like to argue that this text is not necessarily a series of fervent admonitions or fanatical exhortations to war against infidels but was rather a work of a scholar who was concerned about the aggression of intruders into his homeland (and Islamic lands generally) and simply compiling Islamic texts and explaining them to his people. If the latter was the case, then certainly this was among his contributions towards the intellectual development of life in the Malay Archipelago and an indication of his concern about the current political situation there. At the same time, it also highlights his deep concern and sense of responsibility for his *Jāwī* compatriots.

Perhaps other evidence indicating that there is a general sense of dissatisfaction with conditions as they were and a sense of hope for improvement can be seen from the writings of later generations of *Jāwī* scholars. For instance, Dāwūd al-Faṭānī also wrote explicitly on the topic of *jihād*. Though, unlike al-Falimbānī, he did not write a separate epistle specifically on *jihād*, but he included a lengthy chapter [*kitāb al-jihād*] in his work discussing its legality and obligation according to the Islamic law. In one of his later dated works, the *Sullam al-Mubtadī*, completed in Mecca on 13 Shawwāl 1252/21 January 1837, Dāwūd al-Faṭānī clarifies the rules of *jihād* stating the following:

A book clarifying the rules of *jihād*. The *jihād* became obligatory after the migration of the Prophet SAW to Medina. It is a communal obligation for the Muslims to engage in *jihād* every year, against the aggressions of the infidel if they are in their own land; if this is fulfilled by any of the Muslims, the rest are exempted from such obligation. On the other hand, if the infidels transgress by seizing Muslim lands, at that instant, the *jihād* becomes an individual obligation for every Muslim. It is the duty of every individual to rebut with whatever means possible, and it becomes obligatory for their neighbours to assist them in repulsing their enemy ... (*Kitab pada menyatakan perang sabil. Maka adalah dituntut akan dia kemudian daripada berpindah Nabi SAW ke Madinah. Jika adalah mereka itu kafir pada negerinya, maka perang akan dia fardu kifayah atas segala muslimin pada tiap-tiap tahun, maka jika ada yang mengerjakan itu, orang yang ada mereka itu ahli kifayah, gugur dosanya atas orang yang lainnya; dan kedua, jika masuk mereka itu kepada negeri kita, maka tatkala itu wajib jihād atas mereka itu. Wajib ahli negeri itu menolakan mereka itu sebolehnya dan wajib segala negeri yang hampir dengan mereka itu menolakan dia ...*).<sup>102</sup>

The last of the currently known writings of al-Falimbānī, is *Zād al-Muttaqīn fī Tawḥīd Rabb al-‘Ālamīn* (Sustenance for the Pious on the Oneness of the Lord of the Universe), already mentioned earlier.<sup>103</sup> As noted above, Quzwain was the first to add this title to the growing list of al-Falimbānī's writings; however, he stated that no copy of it had been found.<sup>104</sup> However, I was able to discover the only manuscript copy, thus far, of this text and it clearly indicates that the scribe was one of al-Falimbānī's disciples in Mecca as he refers to him as ‘*mawlānā wa-ustādhunā ash-Shaykh ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad ... fī Makkah,*’ though the scribe himself does not mention his own name, nor give any date of completion.<sup>105</sup>

The *Zād al-Muttaqīn* is undated, however, al-Falimbānī quoted it twice in his *Sayr as-Sālikīn* which helps us to establish roughly the date it was written.<sup>106</sup> He states that he wrote this work as an exposition of the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd* based on the first teachings he received from as-Sammān on this subject. He tells us further that after completion of this text, perhaps upon the instruction of as-Sammān, he read it to

Şiddīq b. ‘Umar Khān al-Madanī who then named it *Zād al-Muttaqīn fī Tawḥīd Rabb al-‘Ālamīn*.<sup>107</sup> Thus, we can conclude that he wrote it while he was studying with as-Sammān during his five year sojourn in Medina (1181-86/1766-72), and possibly in the early period of his study. This also indicates that al-Falimbānī was already a competent student who was permitted and able to learn the complex and advanced topics of Şūfism upon meeting him.

It is fortunate that not only can we confirm the attribution of this work to al-Falimbānī from the text itself, but also it precisely accords with the prologue of this text included in his *Sayr as-Sālikīn*.<sup>108</sup> Without doubt, the *Zād al-Muttaqīn* was his most significant writing on the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd*, which summarises his advanced *taṣawwuf* training and clarifies this complex Şūfī doctrine. Fully aware of the possibility that this text and its like might lead to intellectual and religious confusion, al-Falimbānī clearly warns the novice (*mubtadī*) not to read such works, and explains further that without proper knowledge, such works might lead them astray or even to heresy.<sup>109</sup> Therefore, the *Zād al-Muttaqīn* was reserved for his adept disciples, which perhaps explains the rarity of its copy, since it was not widely circulated.

This further finds support in the scholarly writings of later generations such as Sayyid ‘Uthmān the *mufī* of Batavia who relates that in conformity with the opinion of scholars of exoteric and esoteric sciences, and scholars of *sharī‘ah* and *ḥaqīqah*, he forbids the reading of Şūfī texts that contain ambiguous phrases indicative of terminologies only comprehended by them, such as the question of *waḥdat al-wujūd* and the like, found in such books as *al-Ḥikam al-‘Aṭā’iyyah*, *al-Futūḥāt al-Makiyyah*, and others ... its meaning cannot be perceived save by those who have reached their standing and tasted it by *dhawq* ... the cause of such prohibition is the inability of the uninitiated to comprehend their phrases and their intended meaning, this leading the general reader to atheism (*ilḥād*), [ideas of] divine incarnation (*ḥulūl*) and of mystic union with God (*ittiḥād*).<sup>110</sup>

Such a view is also supported by other proponents of Şūfī mysticism such as ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd Quds in his exposition of as-Sammān’s *qaṣīdah* where he points out that numerous scholars have warned students against reading the profound teachings of *waḥdat al-wujūd* and the works of Şūfī



masters such as Ibn al-‘Arabī’s *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyyah* and his *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, albeit holding the opinion that he was one of the greatest *walī* and knower of God (*min akābir al-awliyā’ al-‘Ārifīn*). Furthermore he supports his opinion by quoting as authoritative sources as-Suyūṭī and Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī’s *al-Fatāwā al-Ḥadīthiyyah*, where the latter explains that this was only because of its “high complexity beyond the understanding of the masses and the ambiguity of its meaning in the minds of many” (*li-‘uhūwihā ‘an fahm al-‘awām wa-ghumūd ma‘ānihā ‘an kathīr min ‘l-fuhūm*).<sup>111</sup>

Though al-Falimbānī tells us that his text was based on the first teachings on *waḥdat al-wujūd* by as-Sammān, it does not mean that he literally reproduced his teacher’s work. This is clear from several points: firstly, if we recall the works written by as-Sammān, none of his titles were specifically on *waḥdat al-wujūd*. Secondly, as in al-Falimbānī’s *Zahrat al-Murīd*, it was his method to take notes from the lectures he attended based on his own understanding, thus usually including his own additions; thirdly, the major *Ṣūfī* works he listed for the adepts include several works on *waḥdat al-wujūd* such as an-Nābulusī’s *Īdāḥ al-Maqṣūd* and *Nukhbat al-Mas’alah*. It is highly probable that he read such works with as-Sammān as he was, according to al-Falimbānī, the highest *quṭb* of his time. Finally, further research shows that several of his teachers and his grand-teachers (teachers of his teachers) had also written on the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd* such as ‘Aṭā’ Allāh al-Miṣrī’s *Nafḥat al-Jūd fī Waḥdat al-Wujūd*, ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-‘Aydārūs’s *Laṭā’if al-Jūd fī Mas’alat Waḥdat al-Wujūd* and *Fayḍat an-Nafaḥāt fī Mas’alat aṣ-Ṣifāt*, Aḥmad al-Jawharī’s *Fayḍ al-‘Alī al-Wadūd fī Taḥqīq Mas’alat al-Wujūd*, Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī’s *Waḥdat al-Wujūd: al-‘Ilal wa ‘l-Asbāb* and *Mawrid al-‘Adhb li-Dhī ‘l-Wurūd fī Kashf Ma’nā Waḥdat al-Wujūd*, Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī’s *Maṭla‘ al-Jūd fī Taḥqīq at-Tanzīh fī Waḥdat al-Wujūd* and an-Nābulusī’s *aḏ-Zill al-Mamdūd fī Ma’nā Waḥdat al-Wujūd* in addition to his two aforementioned titles. Thus, at this stage, it suffices to say that the *Zād al-Muttaqīn* must contain some of his own additions, or at least adaptations from his own readings, though further research needs to be done. Finally, it is important to highlight that the *waḥdat al-wujūd* al-Falimbānī professes is totally in conformity with the *sharī‘ah* and *uṣūl ad-dīn* as it clearly rejects the notion of *ḥulūl* and *ittiḥād*.<sup>112</sup>



## Al-Falimbānī's Previous Unknown Writings

At this stage, it is necessary to reiterate, as already indicated in passing in our discussion of categories of sources consulted for this study, the importance of surveying the catalogues of oriental manuscripts as these often provide important information on those '*ulamā*' who have written books. This is certainly true in the case of al-Falimbānī as I found it a very useful tool in tracing and tracking down his writings, especially those which have never been consulted or mentioned in contemporary studies. Thus, this section will highlight and discuss all of these writings, eleven thus far, which have never been included in previous studies.

The first of these writings is *Risālah fī Bayān Asbāb Muḥarramāt an-Nikāḥ wa-mā Yudhkar ma'ahu min Ḍabṭ ar-Riḍā' wa-Ghayriḥ* (Epistle elucidating the reasons for prohibited marriage) written in *Jāwī*, which according to al-Falimbānī himself was completed in Mecca, on Tuesday 10 Rabi' al-Awwal 1179/27 August 1765.<sup>113</sup> Looking at the date, this epistle was completed approximately two months after his first treatise, *Zahrāt al-Murīd*.

As the title would indicate, this treatise deals with the law of marriage and the factors inhibiting marriage with certain relatives according to *sharī'ah* law. The main focus of the discussion centres on the three groups of women that a man is prohibited to marry due to *nasab* (kinship), *riḍā'* (fosterage) and *muṣāharah* (existing relationship by marriage) listing seven categories each for the first two groups and four for the third group. In my perusal of this text, I have discovered that a concise discussion of the same topic was later included by al-Falimbānī in his magnum opus, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*. However, he omits several *fiqh* questions included in his earlier epistle.<sup>114</sup> This short text in three folios is an example of al-Falimbānī's erudition in *fiqh* and his intellectual contributions to the *sharī'ah* teachings in the Archipelago. Perhaps it is likely that al-Falimbānī wrote this epistle in response to a question by his compatriots, however, he does not indicate this in his text.

The second of the previously unknown writings of al-Falimbānī is *Risālah Laṭīfah fī Bayān al-Isrā' wa 'l-Mi'rāj* (A Small Epistle on Exposition of the Prophet's SAW Nocturnal Journey and Ascension).

Al-Falimbānī himself tells us that this epistle was completed in Mecca, on Friday, 11 Rajab 1181/3 December 1767, thus it is his third writing in chronological sequence, after his *Zahrāt al-Murīd* and the above mentioned epistle on marriage.<sup>115</sup> It is important to remember that this is the last of the three earliest dated writings of al-Falimbānī that does not mention as-Sammān, indicating that he was not his disciple yet.

There is no published edition of this epistle and thus far, I have located only three manuscript copies of it: two in the National Library of Malaysia and the third in the University of Leiden Library.<sup>116</sup> This treatise deals with the narrative of the Prophet's SAW nocturnal journey from Mecca to Jerusalem and his ascension to heaven. Among the works of authoritative authors on this subject that al-Falimbānī quoted one Najm ad-Dīn al-Ghayṭī's (910-83/1504-76) *al-Isrā' wa 'l-Mi'rāj*, better known as *Qiṣṣat Mi'rāj an-Nabī*, and its commentary entitled *Sharḥ al-Mi'rāj* by Aḥmad al-Qalyūbī (d. 1029/1619).<sup>117</sup> Both authors were from Egypt. It is probable that al-Falimbānī relied mostly on these two works as he concludes his writing saying that he finishes translating this epistle in Mecca (*wa-kāna al-farāgh min tarjamat hādhihī ar-risālat fī Makkah al-Musharrafah ...*).<sup>118</sup>

We know from the *Zahrāt al-Murīd* that al-Falimbānī was already teaching his students when he wrote it and the date of completion of *Risālah Laṭīfah* further supports this. In fact, it is probable that al-Falimbānī was teaching at al-Masjid al-Ḥarām by that time. We can relate this to Snouck Hurgronje's observation, that only during the seventh Hijri month, Rajab, that one hour of the day, usually after the sunset, lectures are allocated for the edifying recitations of the Prophet's SAW journey to Heaven, the anniversary of which is on the twenty seventh of that month.<sup>119</sup> Thus, perhaps, it is not a coincidence that al-Falimbānī completed his writing in the month of Rajab, about a fortnight before the celebrations of the *Mi'rāj* night.

Among al-Falimbānī's contemporaries who benefited from the *Risālah Laṭīfah* was Dāwūd al-Faṭānī. He quoted from this epistle in his own writing dealing with the same subject entitled *Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj fī 'l-Isrā' wa 'l-Mi'rāj* which he completed in Mecca on 27 Muḥarram 1224/14 March 1809, some forty years after al-Falimbānī completed his own treatise.<sup>120</sup>

The third from among the list of al-Falimbānī's previously unutilised writings is *Mulḥaq fī Bayān al-Fawā'id an-Nāfi'ah fī 'l-Jihād fī Sabīl Allāh* (Annex to the Exposition of the Useful Benefits of Striving in the Way of God).<sup>121</sup> Unfortunately, the last page from the only known existing manuscript copy is missing, thus it is uncertain whether al-Falimbānī dated this work or not. However, the title itself indicates that he wrote it after his previous epistle on *jihād*. Analysing the *Mulḥaq* clearly shows that it is a *Jāwī* translation of the Arabic *mulḥaq* (annex) included in his *Naṣīḥat al-Muslimīn*, perhaps intended for and requested by his *Jāwī* compatriots who do not understand Arabic. The *Mulḥaq* includes four *fawā'id* (benefits) containing several Qur'ānic verses and supplications to be recited at specific times, which according to al-Falimbānī will give benefits and provide protection during *jihād*.<sup>122</sup>

The fourth title among the newly identified writings of al-Falimbānī is an epistle on Islamic jurisprudence entitled *Risālah fī Bayān Ḥukm ash-Shar' wa-Bayān man Yukhālifuḥu fī 'l-'Itiqād aw fī 'l-Ḥukm aw fī 'l-'Amal* (Epistle on the exposition of the legal ruling and those contradicting it regarding belief, juristic ruling or action). According to al-Falimbānī himself, this epistle was completed in Mecca, on Sunday, 10 Rajab 1201/28 April 1787.<sup>123</sup> Thus far, I have located only two existing copies of this text.<sup>124</sup>

Though al-Falimbānī is chiefly known as a *Ṣūfī* scholar on the basis of his acclaimed work, *Sayr as-Sālikīn* and his affiliation with the Sammāniyyah *ṭarīqah*, it is now evident that he was also a scholar of jurisprudence with at least two epistles (*Risālah fī Bayān Asbāb Muḥarramāt an-Nikāḥ* and *Risālah fī Bayān Ḥukm ash-Shar'*) written specifically on *fiqh* in addition to numerous *masā'il fiqhiyyah* (diverse questions on jurisprudence) in his other writings. In fact, his strong inclination towards *taṣawwuf* does not exclude his genuine interest in *fiqh* as al-Falimbānī completed writing his work of *fiqh* in between working on his third and fourth volumes of his *Sayr as-Sālikīn*. This is perhaps why apart from referring to al-Falimbānī as a *Ṣūfī*, al-Fādānī also refers to him as '*al-'Allāmah*' and '*al-Faqīh*' ash-Shaykh 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad.<sup>125</sup> This is not unique among *Ṣūfīs*.

The *Risālah fī Bayān Ḥukm ash-Shar'* deals with a detailed explanation of *sharī'ah* law and its two parts, the first, *al-ḥukm ash-*



*shar'ī at-taklīfī*, obligations of the believer according to Islamic Law which includes its five essential levels: *wājib* (compulsory), *sunnah* (meritorious or recommended), *ḥarām* (forbidden), *makrūh* (disliked or not recommended) and *mubāḥ* (permissible). The second part, *al-ḥukm ash-shar'ī al-waḍ'ī* (positional or situational legal rulings) also with five components: *sabab* (cause), *shart* (condition), *māni'* (hindrance), *ṣaḥīḥ* (valid) and *fāsid* (invalid).<sup>126</sup> Among Islamic scholars whom al-Falimbānī quoted as authoritative in this *Risālah* include Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī, al-Bayḍāwī's *Tafsīr*, Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī's [*al-I'lām bi-*] *Qawāṭi' al-Islām*, and *az-Zawājir* [*'an Iqtirāf al-Kabā'ir*], and al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm ad-Dīn*, and *Kitāb al-Arba'īn fī Uṣūl ad-Dīn*.<sup>127</sup> This epistle demonstrates al-Falimbānī's erudition in *fiqh*. However, further research needs to be done on this work.

The next two writings of al-Falimbānī which were previously unknown are *ar-Risālah fī Kayfiyyat Rātīb Laylat al-Jum'ah* (Epistle on the modality of the Friday Night Invocation) and *Kayfiyyat Khatm Yawm ar-Rabū' fī Waqt al-'Aṣr* (Modality of the completion of Qur'ān recitation on Wednesday afternoon). Al-Falimbānī wrote both of these works in Arabic.<sup>128</sup> However, similar to his other collections of spiritual Qur'ānic verses, supplications and litanies, he does not provide any date or place of completion for either work, although he mentions his teacher, as-Sammān in them which indicates that he was already his student by the time he wrote them. Thus, he probably wrote them in Medina and initially intended them for his personal use and they were later handed down to his disciples.

Since both works are only compilations of litanies and supplications to be recited on the Friday night and at the completion of Qur'ān recitation on the afternoon of Wednesday, they do not constitute works of scholarly nature, and this perhaps explains the absence of indication of place and date of writing.

Another undated work of al-Falimbānī is a short compilation of supplications entitled *Du'ā' al-Musbba'āt al-'Ashar* (The litany of the Ten Septuple) which is two pages long.<sup>129</sup> This treatise is a form of *wird* (litany) which has been practiced not only by al-Falimbānī himself but also by other *Ṣūfī* scholars as stated by al-Amīr al-Kabīr, al-Kattānī and Ibn 'Ābidīn.<sup>130</sup> In fact, 'Abd Allāh ash-Sharqāwī attributed the



*al-Musabba'āt al-'Ashar* to Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Jazūlī (or al-Juzūlī, d. 870/1465), the Maghribī *Ṣūfī* considered the *walī* of Marrakesh, renowned chiefly for his *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* (Guidelines for Blessings).<sup>131</sup> However, al-Falimbānī explains that the litany of *al-Musabba'āt al-'Ashar* he practiced was received directly from his teacher Muḥammad as-Sammān, who in turn received it from his teacher 'Aṭīyyat Allāh [as-Sindī], who received it from Khidr, who in turn received it directly from the Prophet SAW.<sup>132</sup> The *al-Musabba'āt al-'Ashar* of al-Jazūlī on the other hand and according to ash-Sharqāwī, was given by Khidr to Ibrāhīm al-Taymī (d. 94/713).<sup>133</sup> Thus, al-Falimbānī's version of *al-Musabba'āt al-'Ashar* seems different from the others in its chain of transmission and to a certain extent in its contents which reflect a variation in the order of wording and contains some additions.

The *al-Musabba'āt al-'Ashar* contains ten sections, including verses from the Qur'ān, blessings on the Prophet SAW and supplications to be recited seven times each. Three different copies of this treatise have been located: one held by the National Library of Malaysia, another at the University of Leiden Library and a personally inherited copy located in Palembang. However, I was only able to consult the first two copies and have to be satisfied regarding the third by its description provided in the *Catalogue of Palembang Manuscripts*.<sup>134</sup> The colophon of the copy in Malaysia clearly indicates that it was copied on Saturday afternoon (*'aṣr hari Sabtu*) in Shawwāl 1219/January 1805 in Karangkali; although I have not been able to identify this place, it is perhaps in Java, Indonesia.<sup>135</sup>

It is important to highlight the fact that al-Falimbānī himself mentioned *al-Musabba'āt* at least twice in two of his other works, namely his *al-'Urwat al-Wuthqā* and *Sayr as-Sālikīn*.<sup>136</sup> Perhaps this text was written by al-Falimbānī upon receiving it from as-Sammān and was later included in his above works.

The eighth text from among the list of al-Falimbānī's previously unknown writings is *an-Nūr al-Aḥmad fī Asānīd ash-Shaykh 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad* (The Praise worthy Light on 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad's Chains of Transmission), which is his *thabat*. This title has never been mentioned in previous studies, indicating that it was unknown to contemporary scholars. It was al-Fādānī himself who stated that al-Falimbānī compiled a *thabat* with the above title, stating that he read it with Mukhtār b.

‘Aṭārīd al-Jāwī, who in turn had read it with ‘Umar b. Ṣāliḥ as-Samārānī, who read it with his own father, who himself in turn had read it with the author, Shaykh ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Falimbānī.<sup>137</sup> However, it is unfortunate that I have not been able to locate any existing manuscript copy or published edition of this work. Perhaps al-Fādānī himself possessed a copy of it, since he had read it, and as I had pointed earlier, most of his own works and other scholars' works are still kept unpublished in his private library in Mecca.

Nevertheless, from al-Fādānī's *isnāds* scattered throughout his writings connecting him through his teachers with al-Falimbānī, we can extract the latter's *isnāds* which must have been part of his *thabat*. However, we should remember that al-Fādānī does not specifically compile or list his *isnāds* which not only link him to al-Falimbānī but also to other *Jāwī* scholars. Thus, what is available from his writings is only some of al-Falimbānī's *isnāds*, which I have utilised to extract a comprehensive list of his teachers and students. It is interesting to point out that on consulting numerous *isnād* works of al-Fādānī, none of the renowned *Jāwī* scholars of the late sixteenth century such as Ḥamzah al-Fanṣūrī and Shams ad-Dīn as-Sumaṭrānī, and of the seventeenth century such as Nūr ad-Dīn ar-Rānīrī, ‘Abd ar-Ra’ūf as-Sinkīlī, and Yūsuf al-Maqassārī made their appearance in such *isnāds*. This leads my theory regarding the transmission of knowledge, that in the early period of Islamic intellectual development in the Malay Archipelago, *isnāds* were not given significant attention. As observed from the early *Jāwī* scholarly literature, *isnāds* were applied in a narrow context, as a means of confirming legitimate affiliation to a particular *Ṣūfī ṭarīqah* by providing the *silsilah ṭarīqah*, demonstrating a person as a valid transmitter of such *ṭarīqah*.

We can also relate the testimony of his disciple ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal as evidence indicating that al-Falimbānī must have had numerous *isnāds*. Al-Ahdal states that after reading the beginning of every quarter of the *Iḥyā’* with al-Falimbānī, he requested from him an *ijāzah* for this work. Al-Ahdal was granted a lengthy *ijāzah* written in al-Falimbānī's own noble writing (*fa-ajāzanī wa-kataba lī bi-khaṭṭihi ash-sharīf ijāzah muṭawwalah*).<sup>138</sup> Thus, we can certainly conclude that al-Falimbānī himself must have read the *Iḥyā’* with several teachers, possessing various

*isnāds* going back to al-Ghazālī. Furthermore, if this was true for the *Iḥyā'*, one can deduce that he also had *isnāds* in other Islamic religious sciences, especially *ḥadīth* works which as a rule are narrated and handed down to later generations with complete *isnāds*.

It is important to recall here what we have seen in previous chapters; that most of al-Falimbānī's teachers, their teachers, his own contemporaries and later generations, all list their teachers and *isnāds* in their own *ṭhabats*.<sup>139</sup> All of them are scholars of *ḥadīth* or affiliated with the study of *ḥadīth*. As al-Falimbānī himself authored *an-Nūr al-Aḥmad*, we can deduce that he must have been a scholar of *ḥadīth* or affiliated to the discipline. This finds support from the inclusion of his biographical entry in Ṣiddīq al-Qannūjī's *at-Tāj al-Mukallal*, which according to the author was written to compile a group of scholars who have affiliation with the science of *Ḥadīth*.<sup>140</sup> In addition, I have mentioned above that al-Falimbānī wrote an Arabic *al-'Urwat al-Wuthqā* containing *ḥadīth* on the merits of *dhikr* and the call to increase it, plus his *Naṣīḥat al-Muslimīn* which included numerous Prophetic SAW traditions quoted from numerous *ḥadīth* sources. It is also important to note that later generations of *Jāwī* scholars, including women, continued the scholarly tradition, compiling their own *ṭhabats*.<sup>141</sup>

The ninth writing of al-Falimbānī unknown to those who dealt previously with his scholarship is *Faḍā'il al-Iḥyā' li 'l-Ghazālī* (The Virtues of Revival [of the Religious Sciences] by al-Ghazālī). This is attributed to him by two contemporary Arab scholars from Damascus: Muḥammad Bahjat al-Bayṭār (d. 1396/1976) and 'Umar Riḍā Kaḥḥālāh (d. 1408/1987).<sup>142</sup> However, neither provides us with further details or any description of this work. Unfortunately, I have not been able to locate any existing copy. Nevertheless, from the title itself, this work probably discusses the merits of al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā'* – one of the major *taṣawwuf* works al-Falimbānī had focused most of his studying and teaching.<sup>143</sup>

There exists also a poem attributed to al-Falimbānī on Kedah's victory against Siamese occupation. The untitled ten-line poem written in Arabic was inscribed on a red silk banner, which according to Wan Shamsudin Yusof was unearthed from the inheritance of Dato' Pekerma Wan Muhammad Ali's descendants in Padang Matsirat, Langkawi, Kedah in 1958. Yusof himself gave a Malay title to this collection as



*Puisi Kemenengan Kedah* (poem on Kedah's victory). The banner was later donated to the Kedah State Museum and since then has been kept as part of the national heritage. Yusof believes that this poem was written by al-Falimbānī who was somehow involved in the Kedah war against Siam. He adds that the banner was used by Dato' Pekerma during this war led by Tunku Muḥammad Sa'd in 1838-39.<sup>144</sup> The rhyming poem reads as follows:<sup>145</sup>

After the *basmalah* and verses from *Surat al-Fath* (the Victory, Qur'ān 48:1-3)

*qul li - 'l-malik ibn 'l-malik*  
 say to the king son of the king,  
*wa-man li-abwāb al-jinān bi-sayfihi qaṭ'an fataḥ*  
 and he who opened the door of the heaven with his sword,  
*lazīlta 'Abdan li-Allāh yā ghayth al-warā*  
 you are servant of God, as the rain for the creatures,  
*yā as'ad man as'ad ḥaqqaṇ naṣaḥ*  
 happiness is for those who counsel rightness,  
*badr al-hudā ḥaqqaṇ badā bushrā lanā*  
 the right guidance shone like a full moon giving us glad tidings,  
*yā ma'shar 'l-islām qad nilnā al-faraḥ*  
 O the people of Islam, we have attained the delights,  
*hādhā huwa al-ḥaṣ al-ladhī man [nālahu]*  
 this is the fortune that who ever attained it,  
*nāla as-sa'ādah wa 's-siyādah wa 'l-minaḥ*  
 had attained happiness, sovereignty and gift  
*falidhā badā khatm al-futūḥ mu'arrikhan*  
 the seal of victories had emerged, dated  
*bi 'n-naṣr wa 'l-Islām qad fāzat Kedah*  
 with triumph and Islam, Kedah prevailed.  
 373    169    104    488    112<sup>146</sup>  
*sanah 1246* (year 1246)

Although Yusof believes that the poem was written in 1254/1838, the last verse which gives the date clearly shows that it was written in 1246/1831.<sup>147</sup> Thus, this banner must have been used during the uprising led by Tunku Kudin (in 1246/1831) when he and his supporters initially



and successfully drove the Siamese out and regained control over Kedah. Since it was believed that Dato' Pekerma used this banner during the war led by Tunku Muḥammad Sa'd, it must have been handed down to him as he used it in the second uprising in 1254/1838.

However, I have demonstrated earlier that al-Falimbānī was present in Kedah only during the second uprising in 1254/1838, and if these Arabic poems were indeed written by al-Falimbānī in 1246/1831, they were probably written in Mecca and sent back to Kedah. However, Yusof's attribution of this work to al-Falimbānī remains only a probability unless further evidence can be unearthed which supports or contradicts this.

## Writings Erroneously Attributed to Al-Falimbānī

As indicated earlier, there are at least two epistles wrongfully attributed to al-Falimbānī, namely *Anīs al-Muttaqīn* and *Tuḥfat ar-Rāghibīn*. The first, *Anīs al-Muttaqīn* was written in Arabic and was authored by 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. Faqīh Ḥusayn b. Faqīh Muḥammad. As already mentioned earlier, Shaghir Abdullah is the only scholar who attributes this epistle to al-Falimbānī, further considering Faqīh Ḥusayn to be his father.<sup>148</sup> Abdullah claims that his attribution is based on a manuscript copy in his personal collection.<sup>149</sup>

Voorhoeve strongly repudiated this attribution, pointing out that in a lithographed edition of *Anīs al-Muttaqīn* with interlinear translation in Javanese, the *nisbah* al-Falimbānī is added to the author's name on the title page, but not in the text itself.<sup>150</sup> He suggests that the ascription to 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī is probably an attempt to make the book popular in the Malay Archipelago.<sup>151</sup> I agree fully with this conclusion, as all manuscript copies without the Javanese translation do not carry the *nisbah* al-Falimbānī, and thus, this indicates clearly the publisher's intention to popularise the text by adding this *nisbah*.<sup>152</sup> This also highlights al-Falimbānī's popularity in that his name was widely known in the Archipelago to the extent that it was used to promote a published Islamic text in Javanese.

According to both al-Baghdādī and Kaḥḥālāh, *Anīs al-Muttaqīn* was the work of ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. al-Faqīh, a *Ṣūfī* who completed it in 1175/1761.<sup>153</sup> Looking at the date of completion alone, this is enough evidence to show that it was not the work of al-Falimbānī as his first dated work, the *Zahrāt al-Murīd* was completed in 1178/1765. Furthermore, Kaḥḥālāh himself distinguishes clearly between these two authors. He credits al-Falimbānī with *Fadā’il al-Iḥyā’* under the entry of ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Jāwī, and attributes *Anīs al-Muttaqīn* to ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Faqīh in a different entry.<sup>154</sup> In addition, textual analysis gives the impression that the author of *Anīs al-Muttaqīn*, ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. Faqīh Ḥusayn was very likely to have been an Arab scholar due to the eloquent Arabic demonstrated in the work. Further evidence to support the conclusion that this is a wrongful attribution is that ‘Abd ar-Raḥīm al-Jāwī al-Ashī translated the *Anīs al-Muttaqīn* into *Jāwī* which he titled *Hidāyat al-Muttaqīn*, stating that it was taken from the work of ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. Faqīh Ḥusayn (*fa-allafu hādihā al-kitāb fa-akhadhahu [sic] min qawl ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. Faqīh Ḥusayn min al-‘ilm as-sālik ilā Allāh ... wa-sammaytuhu Hidāyat al-Muttaqīn*).<sup>155</sup> However, ‘Abd ar-Raḥīm al-Ashī himself does not attribute *Anīs al-Muttaqīn* to al-Falimbānī, which he would have otherwise indicated if it was the latter’s work.

The second wrongly attributed writing to al-Falimbānī is *Tuḥfat ar-Rāghibīn*, a Malay epistle written by an anonymous author in 1188/1774. Despite being anonymous, Voorhoeve was the first to attribute this epistle to ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī. He attempts to support his claim by providing five pieces of evidence; the strongest is perhaps that al-Falimbānī usually dated his writings ranging from 1178/1764 to 1203/1788.<sup>156</sup>

Building upon Voorhoeve’s ascription, Drewes conclusively attributes the *Tuḥfat ar-Rāghibīn* to al-Falimbānī after his two letters written to the princes of Java were unearthed. Based on the evidence that al-Falimbānī maintained contact with the Malay Archipelago, Drewes unhesitatingly concluded that al-Falimbānī wrote this epistle at the request of the Sultān of Palembang.<sup>157</sup> Later scholars including Quzwain and Azra simply followed Drewes in attributing this work to al-Falimbānī.<sup>158</sup> In his article on Sayyid ‘Uthmān al-Batāwī, a famous Hadhrami Scholar in Indonesia, Azra himself does not seem to realize that al-Batāwī clearly

credited the *Tuhfat ar-Rāghibīn* to Arshad al-Banjārī.<sup>159</sup> Thus, he fails to investigate the issue of attribution further.

However, my own findings strongly contradict Voorhoeve's and Drewes's attribution of the *Tuhfat* to al-Falimbānī. Numerous pieces of evidence indicate that this anonymous treatise was in fact authored by Muḥammad Arshad al-Banjārī. The first piece of evidence is that Arshad al-Banjārī's own maternal grandson, 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Ṣiddīq al-Banjārī and the aforementioned 'Uthmān al-Batāwī both pointed out that Arshad authored *Tuhfat ar-Rāghibīn*.<sup>160</sup> Further research reveals that there were three epistles carrying the title *Tuhfat ar-Rāghibīn*: the first, *Tuhfat ar-Rāghibīn fī Bayān Ḥaqīqat Īmān al-Mu'minīn wa-mā Yufsiduhu min Riddat al-Murtaddīn* by an anonymous author, but completed in 1188/1774, the second, *Tuhfat ar-Rāghibīn fī Sulūk Ṭarīqat al-Muttaqīn* completed in Mecca in 1230/1814 by Shaykh Dāwūd al-Faṭānī, the third and last, *Tuhfat ar-Rāghibīn fī Taqlīd al-Qawl bi-Ṣiḥḥat 'l-Jum'ah bidūn 'l-Arba'in* authored by Shaykh Ḥusayn b. Sulaymān al-Funtīānī, completed in Mecca in 1319/1902. Since the authors of the last two *Tuhfats* are clearly known, this leaves us with the anonymous *Tuhfat* which was indeed the work of Arshad al-Banjārī.

The second piece of evidence is that Dāwūd al-Faṭānī clearly indicates in his *Tuhfat ar-Rāghibīn fī Sulūk Ṭarīqat al-Muttaqīn* that the *Tuhfat ar-Rāghibīn fī Bayān Ḥaqīqat Īmān al-Mu'minīn* was authored by his older contemporary, Muḥammad Arshad al-Banjārī as he says: "maka disebut oleh yang ampunya karangan *Tuhfat ar-Rāghibīn fī Bayān Ḥaqīqat Īmān al-Mu'minīn* bagi al-'Ālim al-Fāḍil al-'Allāmah Shaykh Muḥammad Arshad."<sup>161</sup> It is important to emphasize that al-Faṭānī completed his *Tuhfat* in Mecca in 1230/1814; two years after al-Banjārī's death in 1227/1812. Without doubt, al-Faṭānī knew al-Banjārī and his works better than those from later generations, as both scholars lived in the same period. Thus, from this evidence alone it is enough to prove that the anonymous *Tuhfat* was the work of Arshad al-Banjārī and not al-Falimbānī.

Drewes's assumption that the *Tuhfat* was written upon the request of the Sulṭān of Palembang itself strongly contradicts Ṣiddīq al-Banjārī. The latter tells us that his grandfather, Arshad al-Banjārī authored the *Tuhfat ar-Rāghibīn fī Bayān Ḥaqīqat [Īmān] al-Mu'minīn wa-[mā Yufsiduhu*



min] *Riddat al-Murtaddīn* (providing the full title) upon the request of Sulṭān Taḥmīd Allāh ath-Thānī b. Sulṭān Tamjīd Allāh al-Awwal (r. 1778-1808), the Sulṭān of Banjar.<sup>162</sup> In addition to these, several other pieces of evidence (eight to be precise)<sup>163</sup> clearly show that Arshad al-Banjārī authored the *Tuḥfat*. However, the pieces of evidence discussed above suffice to prove the wrong attribution of *Tuḥfat* to al-Falimbānī.

In addition, another writing attributed to al-Falimbānī is a compendium of al-Burhānpūrī's *at-Tuḥfah al-Mursalah* entitled *an-Nukhbat al-Muḥḍāh min 'r-Raḥmat al-Muḥḍāh 'Alayhi 'ṣ-Ṣalāt wa 's-Salām min Allāh* (The chosen gift emanating from God the Compassionate and bestowed on the Prophet SAW).<sup>164</sup> Among modern scholars who attributed this work to al-Falimbānī was Oman Fathurahman, who assumes its title was '*Mulakhkhaṣ li al-Tuḥfah al-Mursalah*,' claimed to be given by the author himself.<sup>165</sup> Apart from the wrong title, Fathurahman does not provide any evidence to support his claim.<sup>166</sup> However, the correct title of this epistle according to the author himself is *an-Nukhbat al-Muḥḍāh* as he says "*falammā marrat 'alayya at-Tuḥfat al-Mursalah ... khaṭar fī 'l-bāl naskhuhā bi-talkhīṣ lafẓihā ... fa-sammaytu al-mulakhkhaṣ [bi-] 'n-Nukhbat al-Muḥḍāh min 'r-Raḥmat al-Muḥḍāh 'Alayhi 'ṣ-Ṣalāt wa 's-Salām min Allāh.*"<sup>167</sup>

The undated *an-Nukhbat* is written in Arabic with an interlinear *Jāwī* translation with the only known existing manuscript copy being bound with the earlier mentioned *Zād al-Muttaqīn*. However, unlike the latter, this work does not include the author's name, which leaves its status and attribution inconclusive. Unlike all of al-Falimbānī's other writings on *taṣawwuf*, this epistle does not mention as-Sammān at all; in fact, all al-Falimbānī's works written while or after studying with as-Sammān never fail to include this teacher's name.

Textual analysis indicates that the summarizer was 'Abd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm Mīrghanī as it says "*wa-yaqūl al-mulakhkhiṣ 'Abd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm Mīrghanī...*"<sup>168</sup> In addition, Nafīs al-Banjārī quoted 'Abd Allāh Mīrghanī's work three times in his *ad-Durr an-Nafīs*, describing it as a summary of *at-Tuḥfat al-Mursalah* without providing any title.<sup>169</sup> However, close analysis of both works makes it clear that al-Banjārī's citations were indeed from the *an-Nukhbat*. Thus, I am able to confirm that this treatise is the work of 'Abd Allāh Mīrghanī and not al-Falimbānī.



It is worth noting that none of Mīrghanī's biographers ever mentioned *an-Nukhbat al-Mufḍāh* among his works, indicating that it is unknown to them. However, whoever wrote the interlinear *Jāwī* translation remains an open question.

## Current Chronological Sequence of Al-Falimbānī's Writings

Having discussed the writings of al-Falimbānī at length and in detail, we can now arrange his works in a chronological sequence, at the same time showing his various stages of development before he reached his apex of writing and teaching. Apart from his undated writings, which we now know were written in Medina but still remain difficult to arrange precisely, all of his writings can be chronological listed as follows:

1. *Zahrāt al-Murīd fī Bayān Kalimat at-Tawḥīd* (23 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1178/12 June 1765)
2. *Risālah fī Bayān Asbāb Muḥarramāt an-Nikāḥ* (10 Rabī' al-Awwal 1179/27 August 1765)
3. *Risālah Laṭīfah fī Bayān al-Isrā' wa 'l-Mi'rāj* (11 Rejab 1181/3 December 1767)
4. Two letters addressed to two Princes of Java [19 Ṣafar 1186]/22 May 1772.
5. *Naṣīḥat al-Muslimīn wa-Tadhkirat al-Mu'minīn fī Faḍā'il al-Jihād fī Sabīl Allāh wa-Karāmat al-Mujāhidīn fī Sabīl Allāh* (25 Jumādā al-Ūlā 1187/14 August 1773)
6. *Mulḥaq fī Bayān al-Fawā'id an-Nāfi'ah fī 'l-Jihād fī Sabīl Allāh* (undated)
7. *Du'ā' al-Musabba'āt al-'Ashar* (undated)
8. *al-'Urwat al-Wuthqā wa-Silsilat al-Walī al-Atqā* (undated)
9. *Rātīb Shaykh 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī* (undated)
10. *Kayfiyyat fī Khatm Yawm ar-Rabū' fī Waqt al-'Aṣr* (not dated)
11. *ar-Risālah fī Kayfiyyat Rātīb Laylat al-Jum'ah* (undated)
12. *Zād al-Muttaqīn fī Tawḥīd Rabb al-'Ālamīn* (undated)
13. *Hidāyat as-Sālikīn fī Sulūk Maslak al-Muttaqīn* (5 Muḥarram 1192/3 February 1778)

14. *Risālah fī Bayān Ḥukm ash-Shar‘ wa-Bayān man Yukhālifuhu fī ‘l-‘Itiqād aw fī ‘l-Ḥukm aw fī ‘l-‘Amal* (10 Rajab 1201/28 April 1787)
15. *Sayr as-Sālikīn ilā ‘Ibādat Rabb al-‘Ālamīn* (vol. 1, 1193-94/1779-80; vol. 2, 19 Ramaḍān 1195/8 September 1781; vol. 3, 19 Ṣafar 1197/22 January 1783; vol. 4, 20 Ramaḍān 1203/14 June 1789)
16. *an-Nūr al-Aḥmad fī Asānīd ash-Shaykh ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad* (has not been located)
17. *Faḍā’il al-Iḥyā’ Li ‘l-Ghazālī* (has not been located)
18. *Puisi Kemenengan Kedah* (Poems on Kedah’s victory) (1246/1831)

## Endnotes

- <sup>1</sup> See appendix 2.
- <sup>2</sup> See Voorhoeve, “‘Abd al-Samad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Palimbānī,” vol. 1, p. 92.
- <sup>3</sup> See El-Muhammady, “The Islamic concept of education,” p. 62.
- <sup>4</sup> See Brockelmann, *GAL (S)*, vol. II, p. 629.
- <sup>5</sup> See Drewes, *Directions for travellers*, pp. 222-4.
- <sup>6</sup> See Quzwain, *Mengenal Allah*, pp. 19-30.
- <sup>7</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Zahrāt al-Murīd*, p. 2
- <sup>8</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 2, 11.
- <sup>9</sup> *Ibid*, p. 2.
- <sup>10</sup> *Ibid*.
- <sup>11</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Zahrāt al-Murīd*, pp. 5-7.
- <sup>12</sup> *Ibid*, p. 5.
- <sup>13</sup> On Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī see Arendonk, C. van. “Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī, Abu ‘l-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Ḥadjar, Shihāb al-Dīn, al-Haytamī (not al-Haythamī) al-Sa‘dī” in *EP*, edited by P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel and W.P. Heinrichs (Leiden, E. J. Brill), vol. III, p. 778.
- <sup>14</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Zahrāt al-Murīd*, p. 6.
- <sup>15</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 6-7.
- <sup>16</sup> *Ibid*, p. 7.
- <sup>17</sup> See al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, p. 140.

- <sup>18</sup> Contrary to Chambert-Loir's conclusion, who maintains that copies of this work are scarce as only three copies were available (one in the University of Leiden Library and the remaining two in the Jakarta Museum, respectively), I found that manuscript copies of this work were abundantly available and can be found deposited in most of the libraries holding Malay *Jāwī* manuscripts, such as the Islamic Arts Museum of Malaysia, which holds five copies, the National Library of Malaysia, holding at least two copies, the University of Leiden itself actually possess two copies. Furthermore, I was able to acquire an early published edition of *Zahrat*, printed in Mecca by Maṭba'at al-Taraqqī al-Mājidīyyah in 1331/1921, upon which I have primarily based my reading and research. Cf. Chambert-Loir, "Abdussamad Al-Falimbānī Sebagai Ulama Jawi," p. x; bibliography.
- <sup>19</sup> See El-Muhammady, "The Islamic Concept of Education," p. 60.
- <sup>20</sup> He repeats the same statement in Malay, see al-Falimbānī, *Hidāyat as-Sālikīn*, p. 3.
- <sup>21</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Hidāyat as-Sālikīn*, pp. 3, 4, 6, 23, 28, 31, 35, 37, 50, 64, 104, passim.
- <sup>22</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 109, 111, 112,
- <sup>23</sup> *Ibid*, p. 27.
- <sup>24</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 12, 19, 29, 31, 37, 40, 49. The *Umdat al-Muḥtājīn* itself is written in Arabic and *Jāwī*.
- <sup>25</sup> *Ibid*, p. 26.
- <sup>26</sup> *Ibid*, p. 28.
- <sup>27</sup> *Ibid*, p. 51.
- <sup>28</sup> *Ibid*, p. 46.
- <sup>29</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Hidāyat as-Sālikīn*, p. 66.
- <sup>30</sup> For further information on these additions, compare the table of contents between al-Falimbānī, *Hidāyat as-Sālikīn*, pp. 1-4 and al-Ghazālī, Abū Ḥāmid [Muḥammad b. Muḥammad], *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah* (Egypt, Maktabat al-Jundī, 1384/1964), pp. 266-8.
- <sup>31</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 1, pp. 9, 216, 227; vol. 4, pp. 179, 262.
- <sup>32</sup> Cf. al-Falimbānī, *Hidāyat as-Sālikīn* (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Egypt, [al-Maṭba'at al-Miṣriyyah], 1298/1881), pp. 338-9; idem, *op. cit.* (Bombay, al-Maṭba'at al-Ḥasaniyyah, 1311/1893), pp. 1, 346-7; idem, *op. cit.* (Mecca, al-Maṭba'at al-Miṣriyyah, 1311/1893), pp. 1, 126; idem, *op. cit.* (Cairo, Maṭba'at Dār Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-'Arabiyyah, 1342/1924), pp. 1, 121-2; Abdullah, *Syeikh Abdush Shamad*, p. 60.

- <sup>33</sup> Cf. Leiden University, Or. 6919, Or. 3284, Or. 1958, Or. 8487, Or. 1710, Or. 7231 (incomplete); National Library of Malaysia, MS 1519, MS 464, MS 315, MS 1425, MS 1324 (copied in Mecca); Islamic Arts Museum of Malaysia, MI 90, MI 277, MI 334, MI 417.
- <sup>34</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Hidāyat as-Sālikīn* (MSS National Library of Malaysia), MS 464; idem, *op. cit.* (MS Leiden University), Or. 1958, p. 290.
- <sup>35</sup> Cf. al-Falimbānī, *Hidāyat as-Sālikīn* (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Egypt, [al-Maṭbaʿat al-Miṣriyyah], 1298/1881), p. 339; idem, *op. cit.* (Bombay, al-Maṭbaʿat al-Ḥasaniyyah, 1311/1893), p. 347.
- <sup>36</sup> These numbers represent the 'Abjadi' numerical values of the Arabic letters in the previous line of this poem and when added up indicate the corresponding year of publication (1298 A.D.).
- <sup>37</sup> Cf. al-Bantanī, *Marāqī al-'Ubūdiyyah*, p. 99; al-Falimbānī, *Hidāyat as-Sālikīn*, p. 123.
- <sup>38</sup> Al-Falimbānī says: "lammā kānat sanat alf wa-mi'ah wa-thalātha wa-tis'īn ... alham Allāh Ta'ālā fī qalbī an utarjim kitāb imām al-fuqahā' al-'ālimīn wa-quḍwat aṣ-ṣūfiyyah al-muḥaqqiqīn al-mussamā bi-Lubāb Iḥyā' 'Ulūm ad-Dīn al-jāmi' bayn ash-sharī'ah wa 't-tarīqah wa 'l-mutaḍammīn fīhi 'ilm uṣūl ad-dīn wa 'l-fiqh wa 't-taṣawwuf an-nāfi'ah bi-kalām al-jāwī ma'a ziyādat fawā'id nafīṣah li-yantafi' bihi man lā ma'rīfat lahu bi-kalām al-'Arab," see al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 1, pp. 2-3.
- <sup>39</sup> Cf. al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 1, pp. 7, 9, 11, 14, 21, *passim*.
- <sup>40</sup> See Ritter, H., *EF*, vol. II, p. 1041. Cf. al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-'Arīfīn*, vol. 1, p. 83; Ḥājī Khalīfah (d. 1067/1657), Muṣṭafā b. 'Abd Allāh, *Kashf aṣ-Ḥunūn 'an Asāmī al-Kutub wa 'l-Funūn* (2 vols., Beirut, Dār Iḥyā' at-Turāth al-'Arabī, s.a.), vol. 1, p. 24.
- <sup>41</sup> Cf. Brockelmann, *GAL (S)*, vol. I, p. 748.
- <sup>42</sup> Al-Ghazālī, *Mukhtaṣar Iḥyā' 'Ulūm ad-Dīn*, in the margin of al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, Taqī ad-Dīn 'Abd al-Malik b. Abī al-Munā ash-shahīr bi 'sh-Shaykh 'Ubayd aḍ-Ḍarīr, *Nuzhat an-Nāẓirīn fī Tafsīr Āyāt min Kitāb Rabb al-'Ālamīn wa-Aḥādīth Marwiyyah 'an Sayyid al-Mursalīn wa-Āthār Manqūlah 'an 'ṣ-Ṣaḥābat al-Muntakhabīn wa-Ḥikāyāt Ma'thūrah 'an 'l-Anbiyā' wa 'l-'Ulamā' wa 'ṣ-Ṣāliḥīn* (Egypt, Dār al-Kutub al-'Arabiyyah al-Kubrā, 1328/1910). Recently, I have located two later editions of the *Mukhtaṣar*, the first, published by Mua'ssasat al-Kutub ath-Thaqāfiyyah, Beirut, 1<sup>st</sup> edition, 1410/1990 and the second, by Dār al-Fikr, Beirut, 1<sup>st</sup> edition, 1414/1993, respectively.
- <sup>43</sup> See al-Ghazālī, *Mukhtaṣar Iḥyā' 'Ulūm ad-Dīn* (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Beirut, Dār al-Fikr, 1414/1993), p. 17.



- 44 See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 3, pp. 176-83.
- 45 For a complete list of these works see appendix 3.
- 46 *Ibid.*
- 47 This concern for conformity of *ṭarīqah* with *sharī‘ah* has become highly important, especially since al-Ghazālī’s time and is reflected in much *Ṣūfī* works of the eighteenth century.
- 48 See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 3, p. 181.
- 49 *Ibid.*
- 50 *Ibid.*
- 51 *Ibid*, p. 183.
- 52 The title is misspelled in al-Falimbānī’s text as *as-Sirr al-Maṣūn*. Cf. al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 3, p. 182; al-Ghazālī, *al-Maḍnūn bihi ‘alā Ghayr Ahlih* (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Damascus, al-Ḥikmah, 1996/1417).
- 53 This work has been translated into English by David Buchman under the title of *The Niche of Lights*. See Buchman, David, *Al-Ghazālī: The Niche of Lights* (Utah, Brigham Young University Press, 1998).
- 54 Wrongly scribed as *al-Maqṣad al-Aqṣā* ..., see al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 3, p. 182. This work has been translated into English by Burrell, David B., and Daher, Nazih, *Al-Ghazālī: The Ninety-Nine Beautiful Names of God. al-Maqṣad al-asnā fī sharḥ asmā’ Allāh al-ḥusnā* (Cambridge, The Islamic Texts Society, 1995).
- 55 Wrongly scribed as *Taḥiyyat al-Mas’alah* ..., see *ibid*, p. 183. Cf. an-Nābulusī (d. 1143/1731), ‘Abd al-Ghanī b. Ismā‘īl, *Nukhbat al-Mas’alah Sharḥ at-Tuḥfat al-Mursalat ilā ‘n-Nabī* (MS Princeton University), MS 1113.
- 56 See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 3, pp. 182-3.
- 57 *Ibid*, p. 180.
- 58 *Ibid.*
- 59 *Ibid*, p. 183.
- 60 See Haron, Abdul Fatah, “Kitab Siyar al-Salikin oleh Abdul Samad al-Falimbani Mengelirukan” in *Islam: Past, Present and Future*, edited by Aḥmad Sunawari Long, Jaffary Awang and Kamaruddin Salleh (Bangi, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 2004), pp. 1072-80.
- 61 See Bruinessen, Martin van, “Kitab Kuning: Books in Arabic Script used in the Pesantren Milieu,” *BKI*, 146 (1990) pp. 257-8.
- 62 See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 3, pp. 7-12.
- 63 See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 4, pp. 102-6.
- 64 Cf. al-Khānī (d. 1109/1697), Qāsim b. Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn al-Ḥalabī, *as-Sayr wa ‘s-Sulūk ilā Malik al-Mulūk*, edited by Sa‘īd ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ (1<sup>st</sup> edition,

Cairo, Maktabat ath-Thaqāfat ad-Dīniyyah, 1422/2002), pp. 37-8, 127-206; al-Ghazālī, *Mukhtaṣar Iḥyā'*, p. 131; idem, *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm ad-Dīn* (1<sup>st</sup> edition, 4 vols., Beirut, Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1423/2002), vol. 3, p. 6.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 4, pp. 103, 104, 105.

<sup>66</sup> See al-Ghazālī, *Mukhtaṣar Iḥyā'*, pp. 223-31; idem, *Iḥyā'*, vol. 4, pp. 328-46.

<sup>67</sup> See Haron, Abdul Fatah, "Wahdat al-Wujud – Martabat Tujuh dalam Khazanah Kitab Lama dan Baru," paper presented in Seminar Bahan Rujukan Islam Nusantara, Brunei, 20-23 August 2001, pp. 25-6.

<sup>68</sup> See al-Minkābāwī (d. 1334/1916), Aḥmad Khaṭīb b. 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Jāwī, *ash-Shumūs al-Lāmi'ah fī Radd Bida' Ahl 'l-Marātib as-Sab'ah* (Mecca, Maṭba'at al-Mīriyyah, 1331/1913), pp. 2-3.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid*, p. 3.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>71</sup> See al-Ghazālī, *Deliverance from Error*, translated by W. Montgomery Watt (Kuala Lumpur, Islamic Book Trust, 2005), p. 46.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 46-7.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 47-8.

<sup>74</sup> See al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā'*, vol. 1, pp. 490-5.

<sup>75</sup> See al-Faṭānī (d. 1263/1846), Dāwūd b. 'Abd Allāh b. Idrīs, *Minhāj al-'Ābidīn ilā Jannat Rabb al-'Ālamīn* (Pulau Pinang, Percetakan Almuarif Sdn. Bhd., s.a.), pp. 4, 146-7.

<sup>76</sup> See el-Muhammady, "The Islamic concept of education," pp. 62-3.

<sup>77</sup> I was able to consult both editions in the Leiden University Library in 2006.

<sup>78</sup> See Drewes, *Directions for travellers*, p. 223.

<sup>79</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn* (MS National Library of Malaysia), MS 692.

<sup>80</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Hidāyat as-Sālikīn*, p. 27; idem, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 3, p. 180; vol. 4, p. 259.

<sup>81</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *al-'Urwat al-Wuthqā*, MSS 2865, fol. 1; MSS 2269, fol. 19.

<sup>82</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *al-'Urwat al-Wuthqā*, MSS 2086, pp. 1, 2.

<sup>83</sup> *Op. cit.*, MSS 2269, fols. 21, 22, 23, 26, 34, 36, 51.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid*, MSS 2269, fol. 23; MSS 2865, fol. 6.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. al-Falimbānī, *al-'Urwat al-Wuthqā*, MSS 2865, fols. 1-3; MSS 2269, fols. 19-20; idem, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 3, pp. 39-40; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 243; Quds, *al-Futūḥāt al-Qudsiyyah*, pp. 6-7.

Al-Jabartī himself missed three names in his work. For a good study on all the intermediaries in this *silsilah*, see Qarīb Allāh, *as-Salāsīl adh-Dhahabiyyah*, especially pp. 45-80, 96-100.

<sup>86</sup> For further discussion of this criticism, see al-Fādānī, *an-Nafḥat al-Miskiyyah*, p. 112.

<sup>87</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 4, p. 259.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>89</sup> See Chapter 2, pp. 48-49.

<sup>90</sup> See *Rātib*, MSS 2367, fols. 13, 24, 27, 29, 34, 37, 43.

<sup>91</sup> Supra, Chapter 1, pp. 6-7; Chapter 2, pp. 49-50.

<sup>92</sup> See Drewes, "Further data," pp. 270, 290, 291.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 273-4.

<sup>94</sup> For further discussion see Hurgronje (1857-1936), Christiaan Snouck, *Achehnese*, trans. O'Sullivan, A.W.S., (2 vols., Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1906), vol. II, p. 119.

<sup>95</sup> It is important to observe that such discontent was already reflected in the works of al-Falimbānī's predecessors such as Muḥammad Zayn b. Faqīh Jalāl ad-Dīn al-Ashī's *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah* where he clearly refers the Dutch or in his own terms, *Hūlandah* (Holland) as *balā'* (affliction) and *fitnah* (ordeal) to the Archipelago. See his *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah*, p. 31.

<sup>96</sup> Evidently, the only scholar who consulted the Jakarta manuscript copies was Ronkel, as he correctly gives the brief Arabic titles of all the seven chapters included in this work in his catalogue. See Ronkel, Ph. S. van, *Supplement to the catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts preserved in the Museum of The Batavia Society of Arts and Sciences* (The Hague, Nijhoff, 1913), pp. 139-40.

<sup>97</sup> For further details, see bibliography.

<sup>98</sup> The complete table of contents of this text is as follow: first chapter (fol. 1a): *fī faḍl al-jihād fī sabīl Allāh wa 'l-ḥath 'alayhi*; second chapter (fol. 3b): *fī bayān al-aḥādīth al-wāridah fī faḍl al-jihād*; third chapter (fol. 5a): *fī bayān faḍl ar-ribāṭ fī sabīl Allāh wa 'l-ḥaras fīhi*; fourth chapter (fol. 6b): *fī bayān al-aḥādīth al-wāridah fī faḍl al-infāq fī sabīl Allāh wa-tajhīz al-ghuzzāt fīhi*; fifth chapter (fol. 7b): *fī faḍl al-isti'dād [bi-]ālat al-jihād fī sabīl Allāh wa 'l-ḥath 'alā 'r-ramī wa-ta'allumihi*; sixth chapter (fol. 9a): *fī bayān faḍl ash-shahādat fī sabīl Allāh*; seventh chapter (fol. 13a): *fī bayān aḥkām al-jihād fī sabīl Allāh*; *khātimah* (epilogue) (fol. 15a): *fī dhikr du'ā'ihī SAW ... fī 'l-jihād fī sabīl Allāh*; and *mulḥaq* (addendum) (fol. 16b): *fī dhikr ḥīrṣ nāfi' wa-ḥīrṣ māni' wa-ḥīrṣ dāfi'*.

- <sup>99</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Naṣīḥat al-Muslimīn wa-Tadhkirat al-Mu'minīn fī Faḍā'il al-Jihād fī Sabīl Allāh wa-Karāmat al-Mujāhidīn fī Sabīl Allāh* (MS Leiden University), F. Or. A20C, fols. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.
- <sup>100</sup> *Ibid*, fol. 5.
- <sup>101</sup> Al-Falimbānī says “inna al-aḥādīth al-latī awradnāhā fī ḥādhiḥi an-naṣīḥah muqtabasa min al-Jāmi' aṣ-Ṣaghīr li 'l-Ḥāfiẓ as-Suyūṭī, wa-min Kashf al-Ghummaḥ li 'l-Ārif bi-Allāh ash-Shaykh 'Abd al-Wahhāb ash-Sha'rānī, wa-aktharuhā min 'r-risālah al-musammā bi-Maslak ar-Rashād ilā 'l-Aḥādīth al-Wāridah fī Faḍl al-Jihād li 'l-Ārif bi-Allāh shaykh mashāyikhinā Munlā Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan al-Kurdī al-Kūrānī.” See al-Falimbānī, *Naṣīḥat al-Muslimīn*, fol. 16b. However, Kaḥḥālāh was the only biographer who ascribes the *Maslak* to al-Kūrānī, entitled *Maslak al-Irshād ilā 'l-Aḥādīth al-Wāridah fī 'l-Jihād*. See his *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 1, p. 21.
- <sup>102</sup> See al-Faṭānī (d. 1263/1846), Dāwūd b. 'Abd Allāh b. Idrīs al-Jāwī, *Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Ma'rifat Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadī* (Pulau Pinang, Percetakan Almuarif Sdn. Bhd., s.a.), pp. 34-5. He also includes a summary of the above text in his later work, *Furū' al-Masā'il*, which he began writing in 1254/1838 and was completed in Mecca in 1257/1841, see idem, *Furū' al-Masā'il wa-Uṣūl al-Wasā'il* (2 vols., Bangkok, Maktabat wa-Maṭba'at Muḥammad an-Nahdī wa-Awlādihi, s.a.), vol. 2, p. 335.
- <sup>103</sup> *Supra*, pp. 10, 39, 92, 110, 220, 235.
- <sup>104</sup> See Quzwain, *Mengenal Allāh*, p. 29. Cf. Azra, *The Origin of Islamic Reformism*, p. 200.
- <sup>105</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Zād al-Muttaqīn*, MSFB 1004, fol. 1a. This text is written in Arabic with interlinear translation in *Jāwī*. I have edited the text together with my own English translation and is under preparation and will hopefully be published in the near future.
- <sup>106</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 3, pp. 22, 183.
- <sup>107</sup> *Ibid*, p. 183.
- <sup>108</sup> *Ibid*.
- <sup>109</sup> *Ibid*. For a good concise discussion on the Ṣūfī doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd* see Akkach, *'Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulusi*, pp. 88-94.
- <sup>110</sup> See al-Batāwī (d. 1331/1913), 'Uthmān b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Aqīl b. Yaḥyā al-'Alawī, *Ṣawn ad-Dīn 'an Nazagāt al-Muḍillīn* (Batavia, s.n., 1321/1903), p. 24.
- <sup>111</sup> See Quds, *al-Futūḥāt al-Qudsiyyah*, p. 19.
- <sup>112</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Zād al-Muttaqīn*, MSFB 1004, fols. 5a, 5b.



- <sup>113</sup> See al-Falimbānī, ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad, *Risālah fī Bayān Asbāb Muḥarramāt an-Nikāḥ* (MSS National Library of Malaysia), MSS 2824, fol. 4. However, the date from a second copy of the same text, MSS 2783, was omitted by its scribe.
- <sup>114</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 2, pp. 39-40.
- <sup>115</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Risālah Laṭīfah fī Bayān al-Isrā’ wa ‘l-M‘irāj* (MSS National Library of Malaysia), MSS 1079, fol. 20; MSS 2968, fol. 24; (MS Leiden University), Or. 17.903, p. 317. 11 Rajab/3 December of that year falls on Thursday, and it is to be remembered that under the traditional Islamic notion the day begins at sunset, this Friday night is the equivalent of the eve of Friday.
- <sup>116</sup> See bibliography for further details.
- <sup>117</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Risālah Laṭīfah*, MSS 1079, fol. 13; MSS 2968, fols. 14, 15; Or. 17.903, pp. 282, 285.
- <sup>118</sup> *Ibid*, Or. 17.903, p. 317; MSS 1079, fol. 20; MSS 2968, fol. 24.
- <sup>119</sup> See Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Later Part of 19<sup>th</sup> Century*, p. 210.
- <sup>120</sup> See al-Faṭānī (d. 1263/1846), Dāwūd b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Jāwī, *Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj fī ‘l-Isrā’ wa ‘l-Mi‘rāj*, (Bombay, s.n., 1298/1881), p. 68. Cf. Abdullah, *Syeikh Abdus Shamad*, p. 145.
- <sup>121</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Mulḥaq fī Bayān al-Fawā’id an-Nāfi‘ah fī ‘l-Jihād fī Sabīl Allāh* (MSS National Library of Malaysia), MSS 2269 (D), fols. 76-80. The exact copy is also printed lithographically in Abdullah, *Al-‘Urwatul Wutsqa*, pp. 120-9. Cf. Abdullah, “Peranan Ulama’ dalam Silat,” pp. 13-6.
- <sup>122</sup> The four *fawā’id* are as follow: the first, *fī dhikr ḥirz nāfi‘ wa-ḥirs māni‘ wa-ḥiṣn dāfi‘*, the second, *ad-du‘ā’ an-nāfi‘ fī ‘l-jihād*, the third, *min-mā yanfa’ li-halāk al-‘aduww wa ‘s-salāmat min su’ih*, and the fourth and last, *min-mā yanfa’ li-halāk al-‘aduww wa ‘l-kuffār wa li-salāmat min sharrihim*.
- <sup>123</sup> See al-Falimbānī, ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Jāwī, *Risālah fī Bayān Ḥukm ash-Shar’ wa-Bayān Man Yukhālifuḥu fī ‘l-‘Iṭiqād aw fī ‘l-Ḥukm aw fī ‘l-‘Amal* (MSS National Library of Malaysia), MSS 2308, fol. 36.
- <sup>124</sup> I have only been able to consult one copy of this work from which I have primarily based my reading and research. The second copy, which was not accessible, is held by the National Museum of Terengganu, Malaysia, D24 (D), fols. 27v.-38v. See Omar, Siti Mariani, *Katalog Induk Manuskrip Melayu di Malaysia* (Kuala Lumpur, Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia, 1993), p. 21.

- <sup>125</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfī*, pp. 5, 77; idem, *al-‘Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 38.
- <sup>126</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Risālah fī Bayān Ḥukm ash-Shar‘*, MSS 2308, fols. 29-30.
- <sup>127</sup> *Ibid*, fols. 30, 31, 32,
- <sup>128</sup> See al-Falimbānī, ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Jāwī, *Risālah fī Kayfiyyat Rātib Laylat al-Jum‘ah ba‘d Ṣalāt al-‘Ishā’* (MSS National Library of Malaysia), MS 2269 (C), fols. 58-70; idem, *Kayfiyyat Khatm Yawm ar-Rabū‘ fī Waqt al-‘Aṣr* (MSS National Library of Malaysia, MS 2269 (C), fols. 70b-75. Both copies are printed lithographically in Abdullah, *Al-‘Urwatul Wutsqa*, pp. 140-65 and pp. 130-40 respectively.
- <sup>129</sup> See al-Falimbānī, ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Jāwī, *Du‘ā’ al-Musabba‘āt al-‘Ashar* (MSS National Library of Malaysia), MSS 2507 (B); (MSS Leiden University), Or. 8487 fols. 184-6.
- <sup>130</sup> See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, p. 145; vol. 2, p. 1162; Ibn ‘Ābidīn, *Uqūd al-La‘ālī*, pp. 158-9; al-Amīr al-Kabīr, *Thabat Muḥammad al-Amīr al-Kabīr*, p. 37.
- <sup>131</sup> See ash-Sharqāwī, *al-Jāmi‘ al-Ḥāwī*, p. 41.
- <sup>132</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Du‘ā’*, MSS 2507 (B); Or. 8487 fol. 184; idem, *al-‘Urwat al-Wuthqā*, MSS 2865, fol. 7; MSS 2269, fol. 25; idem, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 1, p. 219.
- <sup>133</sup> Cf. ash-Sharqāwī, *al-Jāmi‘ al-Ḥāwī*, p. 41; al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā’*, vol. 1, pp. 473-4; Qarīb Allāh, *as-Salāsīl adh-Dhahabiyyah*, pp. 151-2.
- <sup>134</sup> See Ikram, Achadiati (ed.), *Katalog Naskah Palembang: Catalogue of Palembang Manuscripts* (Tokyo, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, 2004), pp. 49-50.
- <sup>135</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Du‘ā’*, MSS 2507 (B), p. 44.
- <sup>136</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 1, pp. 218-20; idem, *al-‘Urwat al-Wuthqā*, MSS 2865, fols. 7-8; MSS 2269, fol. 25-6. Cf. Quds, *al-Futūḥāt al-Qudsiyyah*, pp. 8-9; al-Falimbānī, Azharī, *Badī‘ az-Zamān*, p. 126; al-Būghūrī (d. 1349/1930), Muḥammad Mukhtār b. ‘Aṭārīd al-Jāwī al-Makkī, *ad-Durr al-Munīf fī Sharḥ al-Wird al-Laṭīf* (Singapore, Maṭba‘at Muḥammad Amīn, 1317/1899), pp. 40-44; al-Ḥabshī, *‘Iqd al-Yawāqūt al-Jawhariyyah*, vol. 1, p. 89.
- <sup>137</sup> See Mamdūḥ, *I‘lām al-Qāṣī*, p. 70; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 165.
- <sup>138</sup> See al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, p. 139.
- <sup>139</sup> Among *thabats* published by those connected to al-Falimbānī, in chronological order, include Aḥmad al-Qushāshī’s (d. 1071/1661) *as-Simṭ al-Majīd fī Sha’n al-Bay‘ah wa ‘dh-Dhikr wa-Talqīnihi wa-Salāsīl*

*Ahl 'l-Tawhīd*; 'Isā ath-Tha'ālabī's (d. 1080/1669) *Thabat Shams ad-Dīn al-Bābilī, al-musammā: Muntakhab al-Asānīd fī Waṣli 'l-Muṣannafāt wa 'l-Ajzā' wa 'l-Masānīd*; Abū Sālim al-'Ayyāshī's (d. 1090/1679) *Ithāf al-Akhillā' bi-Ijāzāt al-Mashāyikh al-Ajillā'*; Muḥammad ar-Rūdānī's (d. 1094/1682) *Ṣilat al-Khalaf bi-Mawṣūl as-Salaḥ*; Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī's (d. 1101/1690) *al-Umam li-Īqāz al-Himam*; Aḥmad an-Nakhlī's (d. 1130/1717) *Bughyat at-Ṭalībīn li-Bayān al-Mashāyikh al-Muḥaqqiqīn al-Mu'tamidīn*; 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣṭī's (d. 1134/1722) *al-Imdād bi-Ma'rifat 'Uluw 'l-Isnād*; Muḥammad al-Budayrī known as Ibn al-Mayyit's (d. 1140/1727) *al-Jawāhir al-Ghawālī fī Bayān al-Asānīd al-'Awālī*; Ibn 'Aqīlah's (d. 1150/1737) *al-Fawā'id al-Jalīlah fī Musalsalāt Ibn 'Aqīlah*; Muḥammad Sa'īd Sunbul's (d. 1175/1761) *al-Awā'il as-Sunbuliyyah*; Muḥammad al-Ḥifnī's (d. 1181/1767) *Thabat*; Aḥmad al-Mullawī's (d. 1182/1767) *Thabat*; Muḥammad as-Saffārīnī's (d. 1188/1774) *Thabat al-Imām as-Saffārīnī al-Ḥanbalī wa-Ijāzātuḥu li-Tā'ifah min A'yān 'Ulamā' 'Aṣrihi*; Aḥmad ad-Damanhūrī's (d. 1192/1778) *al-Laṭā'if an-Nūriyyah fī 'l-Minaḥ ad-Damanhūriyyah*; Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī's (d. 1205/1790) *Alfiyyat as-Sanad, al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ, Mu'jam al-'Allāmah Ṣaḥīḥ ad-Dīn Muḥammad al-Bukhārī al-Atharī, and al-Murabbī al-Kābulī fī-Man Rawā 'an 'sh-Shams al-Bābilī*; Aḥmad al-Aṭṭār's (d. 1218/1803) *Thabat al-'Aṭṭār*; 'Abd Allāh ash-Sharqāwī's (d. 1227/1812) *al-Jāmi' al-Ḥāwī fī Marwiyyāt ash-Sharqāwī*; Muḥammad al-Amīr al-Kabīr's (d. 1232/1816) *Thabat Muḥammad al-Amīr al-Kabīr*; Muḥammad ash-Shanawānī's (d. 1233/1817) *ad-Durar as-Saniyyah fī-mā 'Alā min 'l-Asānīd ash-Shanawāniyyah*; 'Abd al-'Azīz ad-Dihlawī's (d. 1239/1823) *al-'Ujālah an-Nāfi'ah*; 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal's (d. 1250/1834) *an-Nafas al-Yamānī wa 'r-Rawḥ ar-Rayḥānī fī Ijāzat al-Quḍāt Banī ash-Shawkānī, and Barakat ad-Dunyī wa 'l-Ukhrā fī 'l-Ijāzat al-Kubrā*; Muḥammad ash-Shawkānī's (d. 1250/1834) *Ithāf al-Akābir bi-Asānīd ad-Dafātīr*; Ibn 'Ābidīn's (d. 1252/1836) *Uqūd al-La'ālī fī 'l-Asānīd al-'Awālī*; Muḥammad 'Ābid as-Sindī's (d. 1257/1841) *Ḥaṣr ash-Shārid min Asānīd Muḥammad 'Ābid*; 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Kuzbarī's (d. 1262/1846) *Thabat al-Kuzbarī, and Intikhāb al-'Awālī wa 'sh-Shuyūkh al-Akhyār min Fahāris Shaykhinā al-Imām al-Musnid al-'Aṭṭār*; Ḥasan ash-Shaṭṭī's (d. 1274/1857) *Thabat al-'Allāmah al-Faqīh al-Muḥaddith ash-Shaykh Ḥasan b. 'Umar ash-Shaṭṭī al-Ḥanbalī ad-Dimashqī*; Maḥmūd al-Ḥamzāwī's (d. 1305/1887) *Unwān al-Asānīd*; 'Aydrūs al-Ḥabshī's (d. 1314/1896) *Iqd al-Yawāqūt al-Jawhariyyah wa-Simṭ al-'Ayn adh-Dhahabiyyah bi-Dhikr Ṭarīq as-Sādāt al-'Alawiyyah, and 'Uqūd al-La'āl fī Asānīd ar-*



*Rijāl*; Fāliḥ az-Zāhirī's (d. 1328/1910) *Ḥusnu 'l-Wafā li-Ikhwān as-Ṣafā*; Shams al-Ḥaqq al-'Aẓīm Ābādī's (d. 1329/1911) *al-Wijāzah fī 'l-Ijāzah*; 'Uthmān al-Batāwī's (d. 1331/1913) *as-Silsilat an-Nabawiyyah fī Asānīd as-Sādat al-'Alawiyyah ilā Jaddihim al-Muṣṭafā Khayr al-Bariyyah*; 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Quds's (d. 1334/1915) *al-Mafākhīr as-Saniyyah fī 'l-Asānīd al-'Aliyyah al-Qudsiyyah*; Muḥammad Amīn as-Safarjalānī's (d. 1335/1916) *'Uqūd al-Asānīd*; Muḥammad A'ẓam al-Khayr Ābādī's (d. 1337/1918) *al-Isnād al-A'ẓam bi-A'lā Sanad Yūjad fī 'l-'Ālam*; Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ at-Tarmasī's (d. 1338/1920) *Kifāyat al-Mustafīd li-mā 'Alā ladā 't-Tarmasī min 'l-Asānīd*, and Mu'jam Shuyūkh al-Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ b. 'Abd Allāh at-Tarmasī; Khawqīr's (d. 1349/1930) *Thabat al-Athbāt ash-Shahīrah*; Mukhtār al-Būghūrī's (d. 1349/1930) *Ithāf as-Sādat al-Muḥaddithīn bi-Musalsalāt al-Aḥādīth al-Arba'īn*; 'Umar al-Maḥrasī's (d. 1368/1949) *Ithāf Dhawī 'l-'Irfān bi-Ba'd Asānīd 'Umar Ḥamdān*; 'Abd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī's (d. 1382/1962) *Fahras al-Fahāris wa 'l-Athbāt wa-Mu'jam al-Ma'ājim wa 'l-Mashīkhāt wa 'l-Musalsalāt*; 'Alawī al-Ḥaddād's (d. 1382/1962) *al-Khulāṣat al-Wāfiyyah fī 'l-Asānīd al-'Āliyah*; 'Alawī al-Mālikī's (d. 1391/1971) *Fihrist ash-Shuyūkh wa 'l-Asānīd*; Ḥasan al-Mashāṭ's (d. 1399/1979) *al-Irshād bi-Dhikri Ba'd mā-lī min 'l-Ijāzat wa 'l-Isnād*; Maḥmūd Sa'īd Mamdūḥ's *Fath al-'Azīz fī Asānīd as-Sayyid 'Abd al-'Azīz*; Abū Ghuddah's (d. 1417/1996) *Imdād al-Fattāḥ bi-Asānīd wa-Marwiyyāt ash-Shaykh 'Abd al-Fattāḥ*; Muḥammad b. 'Alawī al-Mālikī's (d. 1425/2004) *al-'Uqūd al-Lu'lu'iyah bi 'l-Asānīd al-'Alawiyyah*; Muḥammad Akram an-Nadwī's *Nafahāt al-Hind wa 'l-Yaman bi-Asānīd ash-Shaykh Abī al-Ḥasan*. For further listing regarding *thabats* see Abū Ghuddah, *Imdād al-Fattāḥ*, pp. 410-591.

<sup>140</sup> See Chapter 1, p. 21.

<sup>141</sup> Among these *Jāwī* scholars and their *thabats* we may mention 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Bīmāwī's (d. 1270/1853) *Al-Ḥāwī fī Asānīd al-Bīmāwī*; Fāṭimah al-Falimbāniyyah's *Al-Fahāris al-Qā'imah fī Asānīd Fātimah*; Aḥmad Khaṭīb al-Minkābāwī's (d. 1334/1916) *I'lām ar-Rāwī fī Asānīd Aḥmad al-Khaṭīb al-Minkābāwī*; Mukhtār 'Aṭārid al-Būghūrī's (d. 1349/1930) *Ithāf al-Muḥaddithīn bi-Musalsalāt al-Aḥādīth al-Arb'īn*, *Manḥal al-Wārid fī Shuyūkh Ibn 'Aṭārid*, and *Jam' ash-Shawārid min Marwiyyāt Ibn 'Aṭārid*; 'Umar as-Samārānī's compilation of his teacher *isnāds* entitled *Thabat al-Ḥāfiẓ ash-Shaykh Zayn ad-Dīn b. Badawī al-Jāwī*; 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Rāwah's (b. 1334/1915) *al-Majmū'at ar-Rāwiyah li 'l-Aḥādīth al-Musalsalah bi 's-Ṣifāt al-Marwiyyah*, and *al-Maṣā'id ar-Rāwiyah ilā 'l-Asānīd wa 'l-Kutub wa 'l-Mutūn al-Marḍiyyah*. For further list on



- thabats* see Mamdūh, *I'lām al-Qāṣī*, pp. 63-82; idem, *Tashnīf al-Asmā'*, pp. 109, 410; Abū Ghuddah, *Imdād al-Fattāh*, p. 443; al-Mālikī, *Fihrist*, p. 285; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, pp. 59, 63, 163.
- <sup>142</sup> Muḥammad Bahjat b. Bahā' ad-Dīn b. 'Abd al-Ghanī b. Ḥasan al-Bayṭār is a paternal grandson of 'Abd ar-Razzāq b. Ḥasan al-Bayṭār, author of *Ḥilyat al-Bashar*. See Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 5, p. 235; al-Bayṭār, *Ḥilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 2, p. 851 footnote.
- <sup>143</sup> See al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, p. 139.
- <sup>144</sup> See Yusof, *Kedah*, p. 14; idem, *Periwayatan*, appendix. 1-3.
- <sup>145</sup> See Yusof, *Kedah*, p. 14; idem, *Periwayatan*, appendix. 3.
- <sup>146</sup> These numbers represent the 'Abjadi' numerical values of the Arabic letters in the last line of this poem and when added up indicate the corresponding year (1246 A.D.).
- <sup>147</sup> See Yusof, *Kedah*, p. 14; idem, *Periwayatan*, pp. 11-2.
- <sup>148</sup> Supra, Chapter 1, p. 15; Chapter 2, pp. 35, 37.
- <sup>149</sup> See Abdullah, *Syeikh Abdus Shamad*, p. 131.
- <sup>150</sup> A copy of this edition, undated and without the publisher's name is preserved in the University of Leiden Library. Cf. Ibn al-Faqīh, 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. Faqīh Ḥusayn, *Anīs al-Muttaqīn*, pp. 1, 3.
- <sup>151</sup> See Voorhoeve, *Handlist of Arabic manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden and other collections in The Netherlands* (The Hague, Leiden University Press, 1980), p. 14; idem, "'Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Palimbānī,'" *EF*, vol. 1, p. 92.
- <sup>152</sup> See Ibn al-Faqīh, *Anīs al-Muttaqīn* (MSS Leiden University), Or. 1751, fols. 313-22; Or. 7030, pp. 218-43; Or. 7049, fols. 65-97.
- <sup>153</sup> See Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 5, p. 236; al-Baghdādī, *Īdāḥ al-Maknūn*, vol. 1, p. 149; Muṭī' ar-Raḥmān, *al-Fahrās al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 3, p. 1152.
- <sup>154</sup> Cf. Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 5, pp. 235, 236.
- <sup>155</sup> See al-Ashī, 'Abd ar-Raḥīm al-Jāwī, *Hidāyat al-Muttaqīn* (MSS National Library of Malaysia), MSS 2261(B); MSS 2086; MSS 2466(E).
- <sup>156</sup> The rest of the evidence which he includes were: The Leningrad manuscript copy (photos 15-99) bears the entry Van Doorninck, 1876, who according to Voorhoeve was stationed in Palembang as a civil servant from 1873-1875 and then went to Europe on furlough; there is a marginal note in Javanese (photo 23); the word *sanggar* in the Middle Malay is used to indicate a heathen offering, but not in the Javanese meaning and Voorhoeve assumes that the censured heathen practices probably occurred in the Palembang hinterland about 1774; and finally, the Jakarta manuscript

- copy (MS. VdW. 37) contains a page dedicated to *jihād*, which according to Voorhoeve was one of 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad's specialities. The Leningrad manuscript copy is preserved in the University of Leiden Library, Or. 14.359. See Drewes, "Further data," pp. 273-4; idem, *Directions for Travellers*, p. 223; Quzwain, *Mengenal Allah*, pp. 20-2. For the summary of *Tuḥfat ar-Rāghibīn*, see Drewes, "Further data," pp. 277-90.
- <sup>157</sup> However, it is a haste to conclude that the *Tuḥfat* was written at the request of the Sulṭān of Palembang just because al-Falimbānī wrote two letters to the Princes of Java; it would have been more plausible if Drewes suggests that it was written at the request of the ruler of Java. See Drewes, "Further data," pp. 267, 273-90.
- <sup>158</sup> See Quzwain, *Mengenal Allah*, pp. 20-3; Azra, *The Origin of Islamic Reformism*, pp. 134-5, 200.
- <sup>159</sup> See Azra, "A Hadhrami Religious Scholar in Indonesia: Sayyid 'Uthmān" in Freitag, Ulrike and Clarence-Smith, William G. (eds.) *Hadhrami Traders, Scholars and Statesmen in the Indian Ocean, 1750s-1960s* (Leiden; New York, Brill, 1997), p. 257.
- <sup>160</sup> Cf. al-Banjārī, Ṣiddīq *Risālah Shajarah al-Arshadiyah*, p. 9; Azra, "A Hadhrami Religious Scholar," p. 257.
- <sup>161</sup> See al-Faṭānī, Dāwūd b. 'Abd Allāh, *Tuḥfat ar-Rāghibīn fī Sulūk Ṭarīqat al-Muttaqīn* (MSS National Library of Malaysia), MSS 728, pp. 60, 61, 64; (MSS Islamic Arts Museum of Malaysia), MI 318, p. 55. A lithographed page of al-Faṭānī's *Tuḥfat ar-Rāghibīn* containing this information is also printed in Abdullah, *Syeikh Daud*, p. 45.
- <sup>162</sup> Ṣiddīq also points out that Arshad al-Banjārī mentioned Sulṭān Taḥmīd Allāh in the prologue of his *Sabīl al-Muhtadīn*. The latter text was begun in 1193/1779 and was completed on 27 Rabī' al-Awwal 1195/22 April 1781; with Arshad clearly stating that it was written on the behest of Sulṭān Taḥmīd Allāh. However, looking at the date the latter ascended the throne in 1778 and the completion of the *Tuḥfat* in 1188/1774, it is clear that the request was made before he assumed the crown. This is probably the most plausible reason why al-Banjārī apart from leaving his *Tuḥfat* anonymous also did not name the 'esteemed figure' (*ṭalaba minnī man lā yumkinunī mukhālafatahu ba'd akābir az-zamān*) who requested him to write the *Tuḥfat*. Cf. al-Banjārī, Ṣiddīq *Risālah Shajarah al-Arshadiyah*, p. 100; al-Banjārī, *Tuḥfat ar-Rāghibīn*, p. 2; idem, *Sabīl al-Muhtadīn*, p. 2.
- <sup>163</sup> These include: firstly, the title page of the second edition published by Maṭba'at al-Aḥmadiyyah in Singapore in 1347/1928, which clearly

indicates that the *Tuḥfat ar-Rāghibīn* was authored by Muḥammad Arshad al-Banjārī (*hādhā al-kitāb al-mussamā Tuḥfat ar-Rāghibīn fī Bayān Ḥaqīqat al-Mu'minīn ... ta'līf al-'Ālim al-'Allāmah Muḥammad Arshad al-Banjārī*). The publisher supports this attribution adding that this edition was corrected by the author's grandson, Ṣiddīq al-Banjārī, who himself referred to a written copy in the author's own handwriting (*telah ditashihkan risalah oleh seorang daripada zuriat muallifnya yaitu 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Ṣiddīq b. Muḥammad 'Afīf mengikut bagi khat muallifnya sendiri*). The cover page of this edition is printed lithographically in Abdullah, *Sheikh Abdus Shamad*, p. 174. Secondly, examining further the *Tuḥfat ar-Rāghibīn* and *Sabīl al-Muhtadīn*, it is evident they were written by the same author as he writes the exact same Malay text in his prologue, “*Dengan nama Allāh yang amat menugraha'i nikmat besar-besar lagi yang amat menugraha'i nikmat yang sani-sani jua aku memulai ...*”; the only difference between these two works is that in the latter, the name of the author and the person who requested this work are both mentioned, contrary to the former, both names are anonymous, cf. al-Banjārī, *Tuḥfat ar-Rāghibīn*, p. 2; idem, *Sabīl al-Muhtadīn*, p. 2. Thirdly, none of al-Falimbānī's known works discussed in this chapter were ever written upon the request of ‘*ba'ḍ akābir az-zamān*,’ let alone a Sulṭān. On the contrary, evidently Arshad al-Banjārī wrote his *Sabīl al-Muhtadīn* on the behest of Sulṭān Taḥmīd Allāh. It is important to remark that unlike al-Falimbānī, al-Banjārī settled down in Banjar upon his return to the Archipelago in 1186/1772, subsequently being appointed as the *muftī* of Banjar. Thus, it is highly plausible that within two years of his return, the ruler requested him to write the *Tuḥfat*. Fourthly, contrary to the meticulous dating system of al-Falimbānī who not only tells us the year he completes his works, but also includes the day, date, month and place he finished them, the *Tuḥfat* only indicates the year of completion. Fifthly, again based on the works of al-Falimbānī, all his works written after 1187/1773 onwards never fail to mention his principal and most influential teacher as-Sammān; whereas the anonymous *Tuḥfat* written in 1188/1774, a year after *Naṣīḥat al-Muslimīn* (1187/1773) fails to mention as-Sammān even once, strongly indicating that it was not the work of al-Falimbānī. The sixth, a manuscript copy of *Tuḥfat* scribed by Muṣṭafā b. ‘Abd al-Ghafūr al-Banjārī in Mecca on Wednesday, 3 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1237/21 August 1822 indicates clearly it was the work of Muḥammad Arshad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Banjārī. This copy itself was done only one decade after the death of Arshad al-Banjārī, in addition the scribe himself was a scholar from Banjar who could have possibly



been his student, see [al-Banjārī], *Tuḥfat ar-Rāghibīn*, MSS 309, fol. 28. Seventh, the Malay word ‘*hubāya-hubāya*’ (lit. be alert) which appears five times in the anonymous *Tuḥfat*, can only be found in the works of other Banjar scholars such as Nafīs al-Banjārī’s *ad-Durr an-Nafīs* and Ṣiddīq al-Banjārī’s *Syair Ibarat*. Apparently, ‘*hubāya-hubāya*’ is only used in the local Banjar dialect as it is not utilised, to my knowledge, in other works of non-Banjar scholars, cf. al-Banjārī, *Tuḥfat ar-Rāghibīn*, pp. 5, 9, 17, 18, 28; al-Banjārī, Nafīs, *ad-Durr an-Nafīs*, pp. 6, 32; al-Banjārī (1857-1939), ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān Ṣiddīq b. Muḥammad ‘Afīf, *Syair Ibarat dan Khabar Kiamat*, transliteration by Suhayib Syam (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Riau, Unri Press, 2001), pp. 11, 15. Eighth, I have also been able to locate two more manuscript copies of the *Tuḥfat ar-Rāghibīn* held in private collections in South Africa: the first, in the collection of Dr. Cassiem D’arcy; although the scribe and date is unknown, this copy registered Shaykh Muḥammad Arshad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Banjārī as the author. The second copy, owned by Haji Gosain Alawie Abdelkareem, records the author at the colophon as Shaykh Muḥammad Arshad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Bajadī (obviously deviation from al-Banjārī), see Zakaria, *Katalog manuskrip Melayu di Afrika Selatan* (Kuala Lumpur, Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia, 1998), pp. 42-3, 61-2. Finally, in addition to the above, Khairil Anwar, in his Arabic article correctly includes the *Tuḥfat* among the works of al-Banjārī, pointing out that the subjective personal pronoun ‘*aku*’ (I, me, my) used by the author of the *Tuḥfat* is identical to that used by al-Banjārī in his *Sabīl al-Muhtadīn*. On the contrary, al-Falimbānī in all his works used the word ‘*hamba*,’ which although carries the same meaning, is often applied in the royal courts, see Anwar, Khairil, “‘Ulamā’ Indūnīsiyyā al-Qarni al-Thāmin ‘Ashar: Tarjamah Muḥammad Arshad al-Banjārī wa-Afkāruhu” in *Studia Islamika* (3, 4, 1996), pp. 151, 161-2. Cf. Abdullah, *Syeikh Muhammad Arsyad*, pp. 103-7, for his repudiation on Voorhoeve.

<sup>164</sup> See [al-Falimbānī], *an-Nukhbat al-Muḥdāh min ‘r-Raḥmat al-Muḥdāh ‘Alayhi ‘ṣ-Ṣalāt wa ‘s-Salām min Allāh* (MSS National Library of Malaysia), MSFB 1004, fols. 8-20. The exact manuscript copy is also printed lithographically in Abdullah, *Hidayatus Salikin*, vol. 2, pp. 234-58.

<sup>165</sup> See Fathurahman, Oman, “Penulis dan Penerjemah Ulama Palembang: Menghubungkan Dua Dunia,” paper presented in seminar on “History of Translation in Indonesia and Malaysia,” (Project of Association Archipel), Paris, April 1-5, 2002, pp. 15, 18-9.



- <sup>166</sup> Fathurahman claims to have quoted pages 233 and 227 of Shaghir Abdullah's *Penyebaran Islam dan Silsilah Ulama Sejagat Dunia Melayu Jilid 9, Pengenalan Siri Ke-10* as his source to sight a copy of the *an-Nukhbat*. However, *Penyebaran Islam* is only published in 58 pages, and the correct work that includes a lithograph copy of this manuscript is Abdullah's *Hidayatus Salikin*, which is not included in Fathurahman's bibliography. Cf. Fathurahman, "Penulis dan Penerjemah," pp. 18, 23; Abdullah, *Penyebaran Islam*, vol. 9.
- <sup>167</sup> See [al-Falimbānī], *an-Nukhbat al-Mufḍāh*, MSFB 1004, fol. 8.
- <sup>168</sup> *Ibid*, fol. 18.
- <sup>169</sup> See al-Banjārī, Nafīs, *ad-Durr an-Nafīs*, pp. 14, 21, 32. Cf. [al-Falimbānī], *an-Nukhbat al-Mufḍāh*, MSFB 1004, fols. 9, 15, 17-8.

## Epilogue

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This book has highlighted the position of ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī in the nexus of 12<sup>th</sup>/18<sup>th</sup> century Muslim religious scholarship, and by implication, his crucial role in shaping the intellectual development of the Malay people and their culture of Islamic learning. The preceding chapters discuss aspects of al-Falimbānī’s life and scholarship in his historical and cultural context. Here I attempt to highlight important findings and major contributions of this study.

Starting with the introduction, the study demonstrated the importance of two genres of primary Arabic sources for the eighteenth century Islamic scholarship of which al-Falimbānī was a student and teacher: biographical dictionaries and writings on *isnād* and *ijāzah*. It also shows that consulting the writings on *isnāds* can help us to understand better the teacher-student connections in the scholarly networks of the period under study as well as their connection to earlier and later scholars.

By reviewing the sources and contemporary studies relevant to ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī and his wider intellectual context, this research has shown that contemporary studies offer only limited information and less critical analysis on al-Falimbānī. With some later scholars accepting or compounding earlier errors, I have highlighted numerous sources so far unutilised or under-utilised and have attempted to reconstruct a more accurate biographical account of al-Falimbānī and his scholarly contacts bringing in new information and details based on fresh evidence extracted from these works. It should be emphasized that most of these sources, including al-Falimbānī’s own writings as well as other Arabic and Malay writings by his contemporaries and later generations, had not been included in previous studies.

In constructing a biographical outline of ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī’s scholarly life, based on fresh evidence, I hope that this study has successfully resolved a number of issues and details related to the life of al-Falimbānī. These include the obscurity of al-Falimbānī’s pedigree and inconsistencies about his dates of birth and death, his offspring and travels. The fresh evidence extracted from primary sources, which

include mainly unpublished manuscripts and biographical reports by his contemporaries, has helped us to eliminate a number of erroneous conclusions from previous studies. The discussion of his travels also helped us to chart his movements in the Malay Archipelago and the Arab world, further supporting the evidence of his significant scholarship and scholarly contacts in different centres of Islamic learning in the Arab world. By attempting to shed light on his character and distinctive personality as a scholar and *Ṣūfī*, this study has highlighted his revered position among his peers, pupils and contemporaries, both *Jāwīs* and Arabs.

‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī’s teachers and students have turned out to be more numerous, and a number of them more prominent than hitherto assumed by earlier studies. Based on the domicile of his teachers, it has been possible not only to confirm, but also to go beyond Yāsīn al-Fādānī’s reports that al-Falimbānī travelled to study in Yemen, Egypt and Syria in addition to his widely known sojourn in *al-Ḥaramayn* (Mecca and Medina). From the study of his teachers, we can observe that although Muḥammad as-Sammān was al-Falimbānī’s most influential teacher, especially in his development as a *Ṣūfī* scholar, he had studied with several other scholars from different centres of Islamic learning covering specialities such as *ḥadīth*, Qur’ānic studies, theology, jurisprudence, grammar and other associated subjects. In other words, as-Sammān was his spiritual master while these others were his intellectual instructors.

Studying biographical notices on al-Falimbānī’s teachers often reveals clues to solving his undated meetings with them and dates of his travels to and sojourns in various centres. For instance, we now know that al-Falimbānī studied with as-Sammān for five years between 1181/1767 and 1186/1772. However, by establishing that al-Falimbānī’s travelled to Yemen as early as 1147/1734 and was present in Mecca before 1160/1747, a question can be asked as to why he did not study earlier with as-Sammān whom he venerated highly? To answer this, we look at as-Sammān’s several biographical notices. He was affiliated to several renowned *ṭarīqahs*, including al-Qādiriyyah, an-Naqshabandiyyah, ash-Shādhiliyyah, al-‘Ādiliyyah and al-Khalwatiyyah, but was mostly known for his affiliation with the al-Qādiriyyah and al-Khalwatiyyah Orders.

In fact, he was the founder of a branch of the latter Order, *at-ṭarīqah al-Khalwatiyyah as-Sammāniyyah*, which was named after him. Though none of as-Sammān's biographers tell us when he received the initiation into the Khalwatiyyah Order from Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī and became his *khalīfah*, it is clear that up to 1176/1762 he was initiating his disciples only to the Qādiriyyah *Ṣūfī* Order. This is evident from 'Uthmān al-'Aqīlī who received membership in the latter Order from as-Sammān during his *ḥajj* in that year, indicating that he was not yet a proponent of the Khalwatiyyah Order at that time. Otherwise, he would have initiated al-'Aqīlī into this Order; especially since he was the founder of a branch of this *ṭarīqah*. Thus, this perhaps explains why al-Falimbānī did not travel to Medina to study with as-Sammān earlier as he had not attained his apex of *Ṣūfī* mastery. This further finds support in the fact that it was under the guidance of Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī and with persistent training and solitude, that as-Sammān attained the state of illumination (*kashf*) and became his *khalīfah*.

In terms of mystical outlook, the majority – if not all of the scholars with whom al-Falimbānī came in contact, and other scholars of his period – were directly or indirectly affiliated to several or at least one particular *Ṣūfī* Order. It has become clear in this research that, although these scholars were *muḥaddiths* or jurists (*fuqahā'*) or scholars of exegesis (*tafsīr*) in terms of their study of Islamic intellectual sciences, they were in most cases also proponents of the *Ṣūfī ṭarīqahs* to the extent that they initiated others to membership in their Orders. Furthermore, al-Falimbānī specifically attended the teachings of renowned scholars of his time who were specialists in *ḥadīth*, jurisprudence (*fiqh*), Qur'ānic exegesis, grammar, lexicography or rhetoric. Several of these scholars, such as Yaḥyā al-Aḥdal, 'Abd al-Ghanī Hilāl al-Makkī, Ibrāhīm ar-Ra'īs az-Zamzamī and Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī, were *muftīs* of the Shāfi'ī School of Islamic jurisprudence in Yemen, Mecca or Medina. Some of his teachers such as Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, Muḥammad al-Jawharī and 'Alī al-Wanā'ī were even his younger contemporaries who had attained eminence at an early stage of their career. It is important to point out that al-Falimbānī's adherence to the Shāfi'ī School of Islamic jurisprudence did not prevent him from attending teaching sessions of



Mālikī or Ḥanbalī or Ḥanafī scholars as demonstrated in his teachers' affiliations.

Al-Falimbānī's intellectual erudition becomes even more apparent in the study of biographical notices about his students. Not only had he attracted students of *Jāwī* origin, but also Arabs. Though, unfortunately, details of his individual Arab students are lacking, the account written by one of his closest Arab disciples in Yemen, 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal, clearly tells us that al-Falimbānī had a group of outstanding students (*ba'ḍ fuḍalā' aṭ-ṭalabah*) attending his teaching sessions in Zabīd including this al-Ahdal who himself was a *muftī*. It is clear from the short biographical notice on al-Falimbānī in al-Ahdal's *an-Nafas al-Yamānī* that he was one of his highly esteemed shaykhs.<sup>1</sup> Thus looking at the connections *Jāwīs* had with Yemeni scholars, it is appropriate to say that Yemeni sources should constitute part of the essential reference to any study on the *Jāwī* scholars of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

This study demonstrates that the extent and range of 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī's writings were much more substantial than existing contemporary studies would have us believe. This research has uncovered a total of twelve attributed writings to al-Falimbānī (instead of seven known so far) and has also questioned the attribution of two books and one which was inconclusive in status but can now be confirmed as the writing of 'Abd Allāh Mīrghanī.

Apart from solving the problem of attribution, this study has highlighted al-Falimbānī's scholarly contributions in various fields of learning and spirituality relating to the Malay socio-religious and intellectual milieu. I have shown that though contemporary scholars listed these writings, it is clear that they did not examine the texts thoroughly or not at all in some cases. For instance, I have demonstrated that his small epistle, *Zahrāt al-Murīd*, has significant value as a source for charting the religious disagreement in the Malay Archipelago at that time concerning three distinct groups of those scholars from "the land below the wind" (*dibawah angin*) with whom al-Falimbānī disagreed. Furthermore, careful examination of his writings, such as *Hidāyat as-Sālikīn* and *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, reveals that he was not just simply translating the works of al-Ghazālī. More importantly, he attempted to supplement them with his own additions and his reading in a wider range of other

sources. Al-Falimbānī deems these additions beneficial to those who do not understand Arabic, which certainly indicates his deep concern to educate the people of the Malay Archipelago. Otherwise, it would be unnecessary to translate any Arabic texts into Malay if they were solely intended for his *Jāwī* students in Mecca, as they would usually be quite capable of reading them without the translations.

Al-Falimbānī's deep concern regarding the mystical *Ṣūfī* teachings which had led astray some of the *Jāwīs* of the Malay Archipelago is also reflected in his selection of al-Ghazālī's writings. For instance, his list of *Ṣūfī* writings suitable for three levels of competence, presenting them to match different abilities, indicates that al-Falimbānī had reached his apex of *Ṣūfī* training and at the same time indirectly tells *Jāwī* learners which of these writings were to be read and which were to be reserved only for the adept (*muntahī*). Furthermore, if he had wished, al-Falimbānī could have easily translated any of the advanced *Ṣūfī* texts, but instead he selected two basic books of al-Ghazālī, the *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah* and the Abridgement of (*Lubāb* or *Mukhtaṣar*) *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm ad-Dīn* to cater for the novice. In fact, al-Falimbānī himself demonstrated that he had attained the *Ṣūfī* mastery as he composed his *Zād al-Mutaqqīn*, a treatise in the most advanced category of mystical teaching, dealing with complex question of Oneness of Being (*waḥdat al-wujūd*).

This research has also demonstrated that the newly identified writings of al-Falimbānī, include two epistles written specifically on *fiqh*; an epistle on the law of marriage and another on the exposition of legal rulings, in addition to diverse questions on jurisprudence (*masā'il fiqhiyyah*) in his other writings. Thus it is evident that despite being chiefly known as a *Ṣūfī* scholar on the basis of his acclaimed work, *Sayr as-Sālikīn* and his affiliation with the Sammāniyyah *ṭarīqah*, he was also a competent scholar of jurisprudence (*faqīh*).

Among the *Jāwī* scholars of his time, al-Falimbānī was one of those who not only had deep concern for the intellectual life of the Malay people, but also for the political situation of the Malay region. This can be confirmed from the two letters which he sent from Mecca to two Javanese princes reminding them of the merits of *jihād* and from two other epistles written on issues pertaining to *jihād*. This shows that al-Falimbānī was a scholar who was deeply concerned for his people

and homeland and was definitely not a hermit who isolated himself from his community.

Critical assessment of all al-Falimbānī's known writings has further added to our knowledge about his life, scholarship and his writings and teaching career and highlighted his contribution and role in the eighteenth century scholarly nexus. In addition, this study has now made it possible to chronologically list all of his writings.

It is important to highlight that this study – to my knowledge – is the first to have comprehensively utilised the widest possible range of sources available, including manuscripts, *Jāwī* books, Arabic biographical dictionaries and other relevant works. Utilising all these sources and materials has helped us place al-Falimbānī at the centre of the nexus of eighteenth century Muslim scholarship in the Arab and Malay worlds. In fact, looking at his intellectual scholarship, his distinguished career and the revered position he enjoyed in Mecca and Zabīd, al-Falimbānī was perhaps the most prominent among the *Jāwīs* who had achieved this status. It is hoped that this study will pave the way for further research on other *Jāwī* scholars from this period as well as from other generations.

## Endnote

<sup>1</sup> See appendix 1.

## Appendix 1

### New Translation of al-Falimbānī's Biographical Notice

[Biography of Shaykh al-‘Allāmah ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Jāwī *Raḥimahu Allāh* (God’s Mercy be upon him)]

And among [the ‘*ulamā*’ of this generation] is our shaykh, the great scholar (*al-‘allāmah*), the saint (*al-walī*), the deeply understanding (*al-fahhāmah*), the pious (*at-taqī*) notable of Islam (*wajīh al-Islām*), ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Jāwī (God’s Mercy be upon him). He arrived at the city of Zabīd in the year 1206/1791.

The above-mentioned [shaykh] was among those who applied their knowledge to their life (*al-‘ulamā’ al-‘āmilīn*) and among those who had facility in virtually every branch of the Islamic sciences (*al-muntafi‘īn fī sā’ir al-‘ulūm*). He studied with the scholars of his period, from among the people of *al-Ḥaramayn* such as ash-Shaykh al-‘Allāmah Ibrāhīm ar-Ra’īs, ash-Shaykh al-‘Allāmah Muḥammad Mirdād, ash-Shaykh al-‘Allāmah ‘Aṭā’ [Allāh] al-Miṣrī, ash-Shaykh al-‘Allāmah Muḥammad al-Jawharī, and ash-Shaykh al-‘Allāmah Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī, and others. He then turned towards Ṣūfism and directed most of his attention to studying and teaching [al-Ghazālī’s] *Iḥyā’ ‘Ulūm ad-Dīn*. He began to enjoin people to occupy themselves with this book, glorify its significant and frequently highlights its virtues and benefits, [explaining that] the least of these benefits to those who occupy themselves with it and follow its teaching being that they discover their own faults, shortcomings and limitations. This would be a protection from conceit with the guidance of God Almighty.

Oh Lord, a servant’s fault may be concealed  
Veil with Your forbearance what emerges from his fault  
He has came to You with no intercessor for his sins  
So accept intercession for him now in his old age.



A group of scholars have preceded in giving commandment to peruse the *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm ad-Dīn*, and a certain Maghribī scholar has even composed a book filled with the virtues of the above mentioned work.

It is also related that there was one who occupied himself with this work perused a book entitled *Tanbīh al-Aḥyāʾ ʿalā Aghālīt al-Iḥyāʾ* (Warning the Living About the Errors of the *Iḥyāʾ*) and turned towards studying it and by the time he completed he lost his sight. He wept profusely and prayed to God Almighty, and knew what had brought this [calamity] upon him. He then turned towards God Almighty in repentance, and God restored his sight. Shaykh Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥaḍramī said: “the *Iḥyāʾ* is a cure against the poisons of heedlessness; it awakens the exoteric *ʿulamāʾ* and broadens the knowledge of the firmly established scholars.”

When our above mentioned shaykh [al-Falimbānī] arrived in Zabīd, he continued to consistently urge [people] towards studying the above mentioned book. I read with him, praise be to God, from the beginning of each quarter of the book and asked him for an *ijāzah* to relate what is allowed to transmit and that is beneficial to know. He granted me a lengthy *ijāzah* which he wrote for me in his own noble handwriting. His method was that when a student came to him, he would ask him at length about his circumstances and once he realized that the student was consistent in a good trait, he would lengthen his praise on that trait, and he would expound on its rules and morals to increase the student adherence to it and ensure that he would be well informed with sufficient insight.

When I came to meet him, he always specified the ethics and manners of giving legal opinion (*fatwā*) and that a *muftī* ought to not be confined merely to the question being asked as this is not sufficient. For if he has knowledge of the situation [surrounding the questions] he must take it into consideration in his answer, as this has within it religious benefits that are known to the practitioner in this field.

[Our Shaykh] may God grant him mercy, did not see any value in this world, and his magnanimity and generosity are regarded as a wonder of wonders. One of his praiseworthy students [once] asked him for a book to get the blessing of it, [our Shaykh] admitted him to his private library and said, “with pleasure, please take from it whatever you like”

and he insisted on him to do so and the student took a number of precious books of great value.

This reminds me [the author] of something that Ibn al-Qayyim said in his *Sharḥ Manāzil as-Sā'irīn*, that Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Taymiyyah often said, “I have nothing, nothing comes from me, and with me is nothing,” and he often recited these lines of poetry:

I am a mendicant and the father of mendicants,  
And like this were my father and grandfather.

Another poet Ibn ar-Rūmī (may God’s Mercy be upon him) said:

The generous say nothing to mention their giving on the day that  
they give,  
Had they mentioned it they would not contend.  
Many are those one miserly though rich,  
While others give even if they be in debt.

This is the way of the spiritual elite, as for the majority, they are the opposite, as the poet said:

Be careful with your silver and gold coins  
And you will avoid poverty and debt  
The strength of the eye is in its pupil  
And the strength of human beings is in owing gold.

[Our] above mentioned [shaykh] took the path of [*Ṣūfī*] *dhikr* from his shaykh, the great saint Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān al-Madanī. He was a close disciple of him for a considerable time and took the *ṭarīqah* from him, as the latter had taken it from the famous Shaykh Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī. As-Sammān and al-Ḥifnāwī both had the same shaykh and their way is to pronounce the *dhikr* aloud and to have a gathering for its recitation.

It is clear that pronouncing the *dhikr* aloud is neither forbidden nor discouraged, as its detractors would have it. For a group of scholars including al-Jalāl as-Suyūṭī and al-‘Allāmah al-Kattānī have written at length about this. So has Shaykh Mullā Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī who wrote a great treatise on the evidence for recitation aloud (*jahr*),<sup>1</sup> in which he says among other things:

Guidance and reminder.

“If you say that God says, “*call on your Lord humbly and secretly. He certainly does not like the aggressors*” (Qur’ān 7: 55), and if the word *al-i’tidā’* (exceeding) is interpreted in the sense of pronouncing aloud in supplication, as related by Ibn Abī Ḥātim who related it from Zayd b. Aslam, then *al-jahr* is discouraged. However, I say the word *at-taḍarru’* (supplication) in this verse has also been interpreted to mean ‘overtness’ and *al-khufyah* [has been interpreted as] ‘secretly’ as related by Abū ash-Shaykh from Qatādah. If we interpret ‘*al-i’tidā’ fī ‘d-du‘ā*’ (exceeding during prayer) as *jahr* (pronouncing aloud) then what is intended is raising one’s voice more than what is necessary and not mere *jahr* or pronouncing, hence applying the evidence altogether. This is what al-Ḥāfiẓ [Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī] interprets in his *al-Faṭḥ* when he explains that ‘*al-I’tidā’ fī ‘d-du‘ā*’ lies in the increase of one’s voice louder than what is necessary.”

Shaykh Ibrāhīm continues to say:

“And this is clearly indicated in the *ḥadīth* of Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘arī, as reported in the two sound collections (*aṣ-ṣaḥīḥayn*) and elsewhere, and the exact texts is of al-Bukhārī in [the chapter on] *jihād*. [Abū Mūsā] said: we were with the Prophet SAW and whenever we approached a valley we would utter the *tahlīl* (acclamation of there is no deity worthy of worship but God) and *takbīr* (exclaiming God is great), raising our voices, and the Prophet SAW would said, “Oh people, stay your voices” ... to the end of the *ḥadīth*. Al-Ḥāfiẓ says that “*irba‘ū* has the meaning of raising one’s voice but without straining.” This concludes the quotation [from al-Ḥāfiẓ]. The Prophet SAW exhorted them for moderation to abandon the practice of extreme shouting, but not to abandon *jahr* (pronouncing) totally, hence applying the evidence altogether. Therefore it is clear that what is meant by *jahr* from the verse “*And remember your Lord within yourself, in humility and awe and without raising your voice*” (Qur’ān 7: 206) is intense shouting and not mere pronouncing, thus combining the verse and the sound *ḥadīths* that indicate the legality of *jahr* in the recitation of *dhikr* and its recommendation ... etc ...”

Furthermore, Shaykh Muḥammad as-Sammān was one of the great scholars who had written many works, mostly on Ṣūfism. Some of his students wrote a detailed monograph devoted to his biography in which he relates that the Gnostic (*al-‘ārīf*) ‘Abd al-Wahhāb ash-Sha‘rānī have mentioned him among the future saints and quoted his statement. Concerning this work of ash-Sha‘rānī, my teacher and master al-‘Allāmah ‘Abd Allāh b. Sulaymān al-Jarhazī told me that he came upon it in Mecca and examined it, finding in it a number of later saints after ash-Sha‘rānī’s time from among the people of Yemen and others who are written about in this book. [Al-Jarhazī] said: “it was an astonishing coincidence that when I finished examining this book, I went out to perform the *ṭawāf* (circumambulation round the Ka‘bah) and I saw a man fitting the description of a man written about by ash-Sha‘rānī whose name was ‘Abd al-Ghaffār. When we finished from the *ṭawāf*, I greeted him and respectfully asked him his name. He responded: ‘Abd al-Ghaffār. I asked him about himself and I found everything he said to be exactly as ash-Sha‘rānī had mentioned in his book without the slightest difference; and I said to myself, “Praise be to God, The Opener and The Granter.” The Gnostic of God (*al-‘ārīf bi-Allāh*) Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ghanī an-Nābulusī also wrote a similar treatise which he called *al-Lu‘lu‘ al-Maknūn fī ‘sh-Shawāhid as-Sam‘iyyah ‘alā ‘l-Ikḥbār bimā Sayakūn* (The Hidden Pearls on Narrated Evidence for Telling about what will be).

Shaykh Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān’s teachers, other than the great Shaykh Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī, include Shaykh Muḥammad ad-Daqqāq, Sayyid ‘Alī al-‘Aṭṭār, Shaykh ‘Alī al-Kurdī, Shaykh ‘Abd al-Wahhāb aṭ-Ṭanṭāwī who settled in Mecca, and Shaykh Sa‘īd Hilāl al-Makkī, all of them having their *isnāds* extending back to an-Nakhilī and al-Baṣrī.<sup>2</sup>

The following is the original Arabic text of al-Falimbānī’s biographical data written by his close follower.

[ترجمة الشيخ العلامة عبد الصمد بن عبد الرحمن الجاوي رحمه الله:]

ومنهم شيخنا العلامة الولي الفهامة التقى وجيه الإسلام عبد الصمد بن عبد الرحمن الجاوي رحمه الله، وقد وفد إلى مدينة (زبيد) سنة ألف ومائتين وست، كان المذكور من العلماء العاملين ومن المنتفعين في سائر العلوم، أخذ عن عدة من علماء عصره من أهل



الحرمين الشريفين كالشيخ العلامة إبراهيم الرئيس، والشيخ العلامة محمد مرداد، والشيخ العلامة عطاء المصري، والشيخ العلامة محمد الجوهري، والشيخ العلامة محمد بن سليمان الكردي، وغيرهم، ثم أقبل على التصوف، وكان جل اشتغاله من كتبه بإحياء علوم الدين درساً وتدریساً، وصار يدعو الناس إلى الاشتغال به ويعظم شأنه ويكثر من ذكر فضائله وفوائده، وإن من أقلها أن ينكشف للمشتغل به والمقبل عليه عيوب نفسه ونقصها وتقصيرها، ويكون ذلك بعد توفيق الله عز وجل عاصماً له عن الغرور.

يا رب إن العبد يخفى عيبه فاستر بحلمك ما بدا من عيبه  
ولقد أتاك وما له من شافعٍ لذنوبه فاقبل شفاعة شبيهه

ولقد سبق بالوصية بمطالعة إحياء علوم الدين جماعة من أهل العلم حتى أن بعض علماء المغاربة ألف كتاباً حافلاً في فضائل الكتاب المذكور.

ومما يحكى أن رجلاً من المشتغلين به اطلع على كتاب (تنبيه الأحياء على أغاليط الإحياء) فأقبل على مطالعته فما أتمه إلا وقد ذهب بصره، فأكثر من البكاء والتضرع إلى الله عز وجل وعرف من أين أتى، فتأب إلى الله عز وجل فرد الله عليه بصره. قال الشيخ حسين بن عبد الله الحضرمي (إحياء علوم الدين) يداوي من سموم الغفلة، ويوقظ علماء الظاهر ويوسع للعلماء الراسخين علمهم.

ولما وصل المذكور إلى زبيد، ما زال يكثر من الحث على الإقبال على الكتاب المذكور، وقد قرأت عليه ولله الحمد من أوائل كل ربع منه، وطلبت منه الإجازة فيه وفيما تجوز روايته وتنفع درايته، فأجازني وكتب لي بخطه الشريف إجازة مطولة، وكان من طريقته إذا وصل إليه الطالب، يسأله عن تفصيل حاله، فإذا عرف ملازمته لخصلة خير، أطال المقال في مدحها وشرح له من أحكامها وآدابها ليزداد ملازمة لها، ويكون على بصيرة من أمره.

ولما وصلت إليه لم يزل يقرر لي آداب الفتوى، وأن المفتي ينبغي له أن لا يقتصر على مجرد السؤال، بل إذا كان له إلمام بالواقعة لاحظها في جوابه، فإن في ضمن ذلك مصالح دينية يعرفها الممارس في هذا الشأن، وكان رحمه الله لا يرى للعالم قدرأ، اتصف من سماحة نفسه وبذل ما أمكن له بذله بالعجب العجيب، فلقد سأله بعض فضلاء الطلبة

## Appendix 1

كتاباً يتبرك به، فأدخله إلى خزانة كتبه وقال: خذ منها من طيبة نفسي ما شئت وألزمه بذلك، فأخذ عدة كتب نفيسة ذات أثمان غالية.  
ولقد أذكرني هذا ما ذكره ابن القيم في (شرح منازل السائرين) قال: كان شيخ الإسلام ابن تيمية كثيراً ما يقول: مالي شيء ولا مني شيء ولا عندي شيء. وكان كثيراً يتمثل بهذا البيت:

أنا المكدي وأبو المكدي      وهكذا كان أبي وجدي

غيره وهو ابن الرومي رحمه الله،

المنعمون وما منوا على أحد      يوم العطاء ولو منوا لما عانوا  
كم ضن بالمال أقوام وعندهم      وفر ومعطي العطايا وهو يذآن

فهذه طريقة الخواص، وأما الجمهور فبخلاف ذلك، قال الشاعر:

اشفق على الدرهم والعين      تسلم من العيلة والدين  
فقوة العين بإنسانها      وقوة الإنسان بالعين

أخذ المذكور طريقة الذكر عن شيخه الولي الكبير محمد بن عبد الكريم السمان المدني، فإنه لازمه كثيراً وأخذ عنه الطريقة كما أخذها عن الشيخ الشهير مصطفى البكري، فالسمان والحفناوي شيخهما واحد، ومن طريقتهما الجهر بالذكر والاجتماع عليه.  
وغير خاف أن الجهر بالذكر ليس بحرام ولا مكروه كما زعم زاعمون، وقد ألف في أدلة مشروعية الجهر بالذكر جماعة من العلماء، منهم الجلال السيوطي والعلامة الكتاني، وأطالا الكلام في ذلك. ومنهم الشيخ ملا إبراهيم الكوراني، فله في أدلة الجهر رسالة عظيمة، ومما ذكر فيها ما نصه:

تبصرة، فإن قلت قد قال تعالى: ﴿ادْعُوا رَبَّكُمْ تَضَرُّعًا وَخُفْيَةً إِنَّهُ لَا يَحِبُّ الْمُعْتَدِينَ﴾ [الأعراف 55] فسر الاعتداء بالجهر بالدعاء، كما رواه ابن أبي حاتم عن زيد بن أسلم، فيكون الجهر مكروهاً. قلت قد فسر أيضاً التضرع في الآية بالعلانية والخفية بالسر كما رواه أبو الشيخ عن قتادة، فالاعتداء في الدعاء إذا فسر بالجهر يراد به رفع الصوت الزائد<sup>3</sup> على قدر الحاجة لا

مطلق الجهر جمعاً بين الأدلة، وبذلك فسر الحافظ في الفتح حيث قال: الاعتداء في الدعاء يقع بزيادة الرفع فوق الحاجة.

إلى أن قال الشيخ إبراهيم المذكور: ويدل لذلك صريحاً حديث أبي موسى الأشعري رضي الله عنه في الصحيحين وغيرهما، واللفظ للبخاري، في الجهاد، قال: كنا مع رسول الله ﷺ فكاننا إذا أشرفنا على واد هللنا وكبرنا، ارتفعت أصواتنا، فقال النبي ﷺ: أيها الناس ارفعوا على أنفسكم... الحديث. قال الحافظ ارفعوا بمجمة وصل مكسورة، ثم موحدة مفتوحة، أي ارفعوا ولا تجهدوا أنفسكم، انتهى. فإنه ﷺ إنما أمرهم بالرفق، وهو إنما يقتضي ترك المفرط لا ترك أصل الجهر جمعاً بين الأدلة، ومنه يظهر أن المراد بالجهر في قوله تعالى: ﴿وَأَذْكُرْ رَبَّكَ فِي نَفْسِكَ تَضَرُّعًا وَخِيفَةً وَدُونَ الْجَهْرِ مِنَ الْقَوْلِ بِالْغُدُوِّ وَالْآصَالِ وَلَا تَكُنْ مِنَ الْغَافِلِينَ﴾ [الأعراف 205] أيضاً هو الصياح البالغ لا مطلق الجهر جمعاً بينه وبين الأحاديث الصحيحة الدالة على مشروعية الجهر بالقول في الذكر واستحبابه، إلى آخر كلامه.

هذا، والشيخ محمد السمان كان من أكابر العلماء، وله مؤلفات غالبها في علم التصوف، وقد أفرد بعض تلامذته ترجمته بمؤلف حافل ونقل فيها أن العارف عبد الوهاب الشعراني ترجمه في الأولياء الذين سيأتون بعده وساق عبارته، وهذا المؤلف للشعراني ذكر لي سيدي العلامة عبد الله بن سليمان الجرهمي أنه وقف عليه بمكة المشرفة وطالعه ووجد فيه عدة من الأولياء المتأخرين من بعد الشعراني من أهل اليمن وغيرهم ترجم لهم في هذا الكتاب. قال: ومن عجيب الاتفاق إنني لما فرغت من مطالعته خرجت للطواف فرأيت في المطاف رجلاً حليته حلية رجل ترجم له الشعراني، وقال إن اسمه عبد الغفار، فلما فرغنا من الطواف سلمت عليه وقلت له مولانا ما اسمك؟ قال: عبد الغفار، فتعرفت أحواله فإذا هي الأحوال التي ذكرها الشعراني<sup>4</sup> سواء بسواء، فسبحان الفاتح المانع. وقد ألف الشيخ العارف بالله عبد الغني النابلسي رسالة سماها (اللؤلؤ المكنون في الشواهد السمعية على الإخبار بما سيكون).

هذا، ومن مشايخ الشيخ محمد بن عبد الكريم السمان المذكور غير الشيخ الكبير مصطفى البكري جماعة، منهم الشيخ محمد الدقاق، والسيد علي العطار، والشيخ علي الكردي، والشيخ عبد الوهاب الطنطاوي نزيل مكة المكرمة، والشيخ سعيد هلال المكي، وأسانيدهم تتصل بالنخلي والبصري.

## Endnotes

- <sup>1</sup> This text is entitled *al-Jawābāt al-Gharāwīyyah ‘an ‘l-Masā’il al-Jāwīyyah al-Jahriyyah*. See al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-‘Ārifīn*, vol. 1, p. 35; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 1, p. 10.
- <sup>2</sup> al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 138-43.
- <sup>3</sup> في الأصل: الزايد
- <sup>4</sup> في الأصل: الشعراوي



## Appendix 2

Islamic scholarly texts that al-Falimbānī studied with his teachers extracted from al-Fādānī's *isnād* writings.

1. [Yaḥyā al-Ahdal] *Bulūgh al-Marām* and all the works of al-Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar.
2. [ʿĀqib b. Ḥasan ad-Dīn al-Falimbānī]: *Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī*, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, *Sunan Ibn Mājah*, *Muaṭṭaʾ al-Imām Mālik*, *Musnad ash-Shāfiʿī*, *Musnad Aḥmad*, *Musnad ad-Dārimī*, *Sunan ad-Dāraqutnī*, *al-Jāmiʿ aṣ-Ṣaghīr* (and all the works of as-Suyūṭī), *Sharḥ al-Jāmiʿ aṣ-Ṣaghīr* (and all the works of al-Manāwī), *Sharḥ al-Arbaʿīn an-Nawawiyah* (and all the works of ibn Ḥajar al-Makkī), *Sharḥ Riyāḍ aṣ-Ṣāliḥīn* (and all the works of Ibn ʿAlān), *ash-Shifāʾ* (al-Qāḍī ʿIyād), *ash-Shamāʾil Li ʿt-Tirmidhī*, *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*, *Lubāb at-Taʾwīl fī Maʿānī at-Tanzīl* (al-Khāzin al-Baghdādī), *Tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-ʿAẓīm* (and all the works of Ibn Kathīr), *Madārik at-Tanzīl* (Abū al-Barakāt an-Nasafī and all of his works), *Anwār at-Tanzīl* (al-Bayḍāwī and all of his works), *al-Burhān fī ʿUlūm al-Qurʾān* (az-Zarkashī and all of his works), *at-Taqrīb wa ʿt-Taysīr* (an-Nawawī), *Nukhbat al-Fikr wa- Sharḥuhā* (al-Ḥafīẓ ibn Ḥajar), *al-Ibānah* (Abū Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī and all of his works), *Kitāb at-Tawḥīd* (al-Māturīdī and all of his works), *al-ʿAqīdah at-Taḥāwīyah* (aṭ-Taḥāwī), *Sharḥ al-ʿAqāʾid an-Nasafīyyah* (Saʿad at-Taḥāzānī and all of his works), *al-Masāyirah* (ibn Himām and all of his works), *al-Masāmīrah Sharḥ al-Masāyirah* (al-Kamāl Muḥammad b. Abī Sharīf and all of his works), *Dafaʿ Shubḥat at-Tashbīḥ Bi-Akufat-Tanzīh* (Abū al-Faraj ibn al-Jawzī and all of his works), *Ummu al-Barāhīn* (Muḥammad as-Sanūsī and all of his works), *ar-Risālah* (ash-Shāfiʿī), *al-Lumaʿ* (Abū Ishāq ash-Shīrāzī), *al-Waraqāt* (Imām al-Ḥaramayn and all of his works), *Minhāj al-Wuṣūl* (Nāṣir ad-Dīn al-Bayḍāwī), *Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar Ibn al-Ḥājib* (ʿAḍīd ad-Dīn ash-Shīrāzī and all of his works), *Ḥāshiyah al-ʿAḍīd Li-Mukhtaṣar Ibn al-Ḥājib* (ash-Sharīf al-Jurjānī), *Jamʿ al-Jawāmīʿ* (Tāj ad-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb as-Subkī), *al-Umm* (ash-Shāfiʿī),

*al-Mukhtaṣar* (Abū Ibrāhīm Ismā‘īl al-Muznī), *al-Muhaddhab* (Abū Ishāq ash-Shīrāzī and all of his works), *al-Wajīz* (al-Ghazālī and all of his works), *al-Faṭḥ al-‘Azīz Sharḥ al-Wajīz* (Abū al-Qāsim ‘Abd al-Karīm ar-Rāfi‘ī and all of his works), *al-Minhāj*, *al-Majmū‘ Sharḥ al-Muhaddhab*, *al-Īdāh* (an-Nawawī and all of his works), *at-Tamhīd fī Takhrīj al-Furū‘ ‘alā ‘l-Uṣūl* (al-Jamāl ‘Abd ar-Raḥīm al-Asnawī), *Bahjat al-Ḥāwī* (‘Umar ibn al-Wardī al-Bakrī), *ar-Rawḍ Wa ‘l-Irshād* (Ismā‘īl al-Muqrī and all of his works), *Tuḥfat al-Muḥtāj Sharḥ al-Minhāj*, *Ḥāshiat al-Īdāh* (ibn Ḥajar al-Makkī), *Nihāyat al-Muḥtāj Sharḥ al-Minhāj* (ash-Shams Muḥammad ar-Ramlī), *at-Taḥrīr*, *al-Manhaj*, *Sharḥumā*, *Sharḥ ar-Rawḍ wa ‘l-Bahjah* (Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī), *al-Ḥawāshī al-Madaniyyah ‘Alā ‘l-Manhaj al-Qawīm* (Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī and all of his works), *Ṣafwat az-Zubad* (ibn Raslān al-Maqdisī d. 849 and all of his works), *Sanad al-Fiqh ash-Shāfi‘ī*, *Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ* (Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī), *Mukhtaṣar al-Ma‘ānī ‘Alā ‘t-Talkhīṣ*, *al-Muṭawwal* (Sa‘d ad-Dīn at-Taftāzānī), *al-Aḥwal Sharḥ at-Talkhīṣ*, *Sharḥ al-Isti‘ārāt* (Ibrāhīm b. ‘Arbishāh), *Sharḥ ‘Uqūd al-Jumān* (‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Murshidī), *Kitāb Sībawayh* (‘Amru b. ‘Uthmān), *al-‘Awā’il al-Mānah* (Abū Bakr al-Jurjānī), *Kitāb al-Mufaṣṣal* (Jār Allāh Maḥmūd az-Zamakhsharī), *al-Kāfiyah*, *Sharḥ al-Kāfiyah* (ibn al-Ḥājib), *al-Fawā’id ad-Ḍiyā’iyah Sharḥ al-Kāfiyah* (‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Jāmī), *Ḥāshiyah as-Siyalkūtī ‘Alā al-Jāmī* (‘Abd al-Ḥakīm as-Siyalkūtī), *al-Khulāṣat al-Alfiyyah fī ‘Ilm al-‘Arabiyyah*, *Tashīl al-Fawā’id* (ibn Mālīk and all of his works), *Sharḥ al-Ashmūnī ‘Alā Alfiyyah Ibn Mālīk*, *Sharḥ at-Tawḍīḥ* (‘Alī b. Aḥmad al-Ashmūnī and all of his works), *Sharḥ al-Makūdī ‘Alā Alfiyyah Ibn Mālīk* (‘Abd ar-Raḥmān b. ‘Alī al-Makūdī), *Tawḍīḥ al-Maqāṣid Wa ‘l-Masālik ‘Alā Alfiyyah Ibn Mālīk* (Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Murādī), *Tawḍīḥ Alfiyyah Ibn Mālīk*, *Mughnī al-Labīb ‘An Kutub al-A‘rīb* (al-Jamāl ‘Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī), *at-Taṣrīḥ ‘Alā ‘t-Tawḍīḥ* (Khālīd b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Azhārī), *Jam‘ al-Jawāmi‘*, *Ham‘ al-Hawāmi‘*, *al-Iqtirāḥ*, *al-Ashbāh Wa ‘n-Naẓā’ir an-Naḥwiyyah*, *al-Alghāz an-Naḥwiyyah* (as-Suyūṭī), *Milḥat al-I‘rāb*, *Sharḥ Milḥat al-I‘rāb* (al-Qāsim al-Ḥarīrī), *al-Ajrūmiyyah* (ibn Ājrūm aṣ-Ṣanhājī), *Mutammimat al-Ajrūmiyyah* (Barakāt b.

Muḥammad ar-Ru‘aynī), *Sharḥ ash-Shawāhid* (al-Badr al-‘Aynī), *ash-Shāfiyah* (ibn al-Ḥājjib), *at-Taṣrīf al-Mashhūr Bi ‘l-‘Azī*, *Kitāb al-Hādī*, *Sharḥ Kitāb al-Hādī fī ‘Ilm aṣ-Ṣarf* (‘Abd al-Wahhāb az-Zanjānī al-Khazrajī and all of his works), *Ṣiḥāḥ al-Jawharī* (Abū Naṣr Ismā‘īl al-Jawharī), *al-Qāmūs* (al-Fayrūzabādī and all of his works), *Lisān al-‘Arab* (Muḥammad b. Abī al-‘Izz al-Khazrajī), *az-Zahr fī ‘Ulūm al-Lughah wa-Anwā‘uhā* (as-Suyūṭī), *an-Nihāyah fī Gharīb al-Ḥadīth* (ibn al-Athīr), *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyah* (Muḥyī ad-Dīn ibn ‘Arabī), *at-Tadhkirah* (Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Qurṭubī).

3. [Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Hilālī]: *Sunan Ibn Mājah*.
4. [Sālim b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī]: *Sunan aṣ-Ṣughrā Li ‘n-Nasā’i*, *Sunan Ibn Mājah*, *Sharḥ ash-Shāfiyah* (Aḥmad al-Jārabardī).
5. [‘Umar b. Aḥmad b. ‘Aqīl as-Saqqāf]: *Sunan Ibn Mājah*, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah* (Muḥammad al-Farrā’ al-Baghdādī and all of his works).
6. [Saykh b. Zayn Bā-‘Abūd]: *Sunan Ibn Mājah*, *Ḥāshiyah Sharḥ al-Jāmī ‘alā ‘l-Kāfiyah* (‘Iṣām ad-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. ‘Arbashāh al-Isfīrā’inī al-Makkī).
7. [Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Sharīf Maqbūl]: *al-Arba‘ūn*, *Riyāḍ aṣ-Ṣāliḥīn*, and all works of al-Imām Nawawī, *Ma‘ālim at-Tanzīl*, and all works of al-Baghawī, *Alfiyyat al-Ḥadīthiyyah wa-Sharḥuhā*, and all works of az-Zayn al-‘Irāqī, *al-‘Aqā’id an-Nasafiyyah*, al-Āmidī’s *al-Aḥkām*, *Muntahā al-Wuṣūl wa ‘l-Amal* (Ibn Ḥājjib and all of his works), *al-Farā’id al-Bahiyyah Manzūmiyyat al-Qawā’id al-Fihiyyah* (Abū Bakr b. Abī al-Qāsim al-Ahdal and all of his works), *al-Minhāj*, *al-Majmū‘ Sharḥ al-Muhaddhab*, *al-Īdāḥ* (an-Nawawī and all of his works), *al-Qirā li-Qāsidī Ummu ‘l-Qurā* (al-Muḥibb Aḥmad aṭ-Ṭabarī and all of his works), *Mughnī al-Muḥtāj Sharḥ al-Minhāj* (Muḥammad ash-Sharbīnī and all of his works), *al-Muqaddimah al-Ḥaḍramiyyah* (‘Abd Allāh bā Faḍl), *al-Manhaj al-Qawīm Sharḥ al-Muqaddimah al-Ḥaḍramiyyah* (ibn Ḥajar al-Makkī), *Sharḥ Ibn ‘Aqīl ‘alā Alfiyyah Ibn Mālik*, *al-Musā’id ‘alā Tashīl al-Fawā’id* (ibn ‘Aqīl al-Āmidī and all of his works), *Shudhūr ad-Dhahab*, *Qaṭr an-Nadā*, *Sharḥuhuma*, *Qawā’id al-I’rāb* (Jamāl ad-Dīn an-Naḥwī).



8. [Dāwūd b. Sulaymān b. Aḥmad al-Kharibtāwī]: *Sharḥ al-Muṭṭaʿ*, *Ḥāshiyat at-Taṣrīḥ ʿalā ʿt-Tawḍīḥ*, and all works of Muḥammad az-Zurqānī.
9. [Aḥmad b. ʿUbayd al-ʿAṭṭār]: *Iqd al-Jawhar ath-Thamīn*, and all the works of Ismāʿīl al-ʿAjlūnī.
10. [Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Sālīm as-Saffārīnī]: *ad-Durrat al-Bahiyyah wa-Sharḥuhā Lawāʾih al-Anwār al-Bahiyyah*, and all of as-Saffārīnī's works, and *Sharḥ as-Saʿd Li-Taṣrīf az-Zanjānī*.
11. [Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī]: *Tāj al-ʿArūs Min Jawāhir al-Qāmūs*, *Ithāf as-Sādat al-Muttaqīn Sharḥ Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm ad-Dīn*, and all works of az-Zabīdī, *Kitāb at-Tawḥīd fī Ḥaq Allāh ʿalā ʿl-ʿAbīd* and the works of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, and *ʿAwārif al-Maʿārif*.
12. [ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Barr al-Wanāʾī]: *Lubb al-Uṣūl wa-Sharḥu Ghāyat al-Wuṣūl*, *al-Qawāʾid al-Kubrā*, and all the works of ʿIzz ad-Dīn ibn ʿAbd as-Salām, and *ar-Risālah al-Qushayriyyah*.
13. [Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ al-Mullawī]: *Ḥāshiyat al-Mullawī ʿalā Sharḥ al-Makūdī*, and all works of al-Mullawī, *ʿUmdat al-Aḥkām* (ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Maqdisī), *Shifā al-Gharām bi-Akḥbār al-Balad al-Ḥaram*, *Mukhtaṣarātihi as-Sabʿah*, *al-Iqd ath-Thamīn fī Tārikh al-Balad al-Amīn*, *Mukhtaṣarātihi ath-Thalātha* (Taqī ad-Dīn al-Fāsī), *Ṭabaqāt ash-Shāfiʿiyyah* (Tāj ad-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb as-Subkī).
14. [ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān b. Muṣṭafā al-ʿAydarūs]: *al-Fawākih al-Janiyyah Sharḥ Mutammimat al-Ajrumiyyah*, *Sharḥ al-Qaṭr an-Nadā* (ʿAbd Allāh al-Fākihī al-Makkī), *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm ad-Dīn*, *Minḥāj al-ʿĀbidīn*, *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah* (al-Ghazālī and all of his works).
15. [ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Armanāzī al-Ḥalabī]: *ash-Shāṭibiyyah*, *al-Qaṣīdah ar-Rāʾiyyah* (Abū al-Qāsim ash-Shāṭibī), *Ḥāshiyah Sharḥ al-Fākihī ʿAlā al-Qaṭr* (Yāsīn al-Ḥimṣī).
16. [Aḥmad b. Sulaymān al-Hajjām al-Ḥusaynī al-Ahdal az-Zabīdī]: *al-Ḥikam*, *at-Tanwīr fī Isqāṭ at-Tadbīr* (Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh as-Skandarī).
17. [Aḥmad b. Ḥasan b. al-Khālīdī al-Jawharī]: *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-Ṣūfiyyah* (ash-Shaʿrānī).



## Appendix 3

List of books related to mysticism recorded in his *Sayr al-Sālikīn* recommended for three different levels of *sālikīn* (travellers on the mystical path).<sup>1</sup>

1. Books recommended for *al-mubtadī* (the novice):

Most of Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī's books, such as:

1. *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah.*
2. *Minhāj al-ʿĀbidīn.*
3. *Kitāb al-Arbaʿīn fī Uṣūl ad-Dīn.*
4. *Mukhtaṣar Ihya' ʿUlūm ad-Dīn.*
5. *Ihya' ʿUlūm ad-Dīn.*
6. Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī's *Qūt al-Qulūb fī Muʿāmalat al-Maḥbūb.*
7. Abū al-Qāsim al-Qushayrī's *ar-Risālat al-Qushayriyyah.*
8. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jilānī's *al-Ghunya li-Ṭālibī Ṭarīq al-Ḥaqq ʿAzza Wajalla.*
9. Shihāb ad-Dīn ʿUmar as-Suhrawardī's *Awārif al-Maʿārif.*
10. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥabīb as-Suhrawardī's *Ādāb al-Murīdīn.*
11. Ibn ʿĀṭā Allāh al-Iskandarī's *Miftāḥ al-Falāḥ.*
12. Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī's *al-Futūḥat al-Ilāhiyyah.*

Nine books by ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ash-Shaʿrānī:

13. *Madārij as-Sālikīn [ilā Rusūm Ṭarīqat al-Muttaqīn].*
14. *Sharḥ Waṣiyyat Sidī ash-Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Matbūlī.*
15. *Risālat al-Anwār al-Qudsiyyah fī Maʿrifat Qawāʿid aṣ-Ṣūfiyyah fī Bayān Ādāb al-ʿUbūdiyyah.*
16. *Mashāriq al-Anwār al-Qudsiyyah fī Bayān ʿAhd al-Muḥammadiyyah.*
17. *Al-Bahr al-Mawrūd fī al-Mawāthiq wa ʿl-Uhūd.*
18. *Tanbīh al-Muḥtarrīn.*
19. *Akhlāq al-Matbūliyyah.*
20. *Al-Fulk al-Mashḥūn fī Bayān at-Taṣawwuf wa-huwā mā ʿalayhi al-ʿUlamāʾ al-ʿĀmilūn.*

21. *Al-Matn al-Kabīr wa ‘ṣ-Ṣaghīr.*
  22. Qāsim b. Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn al-Khānī al-Ḥalabī’s *as-Sayr wa ‘s-Sulūk ilā Malik al-Mulūk.*
  23. Muḥammad b. ‘Umar’s *Tartīb Sulūk al-Mulūk.*
  24. ‘Alī al-Marṣafī’s *Manhaj as-Sālik ilā Ashraf al-Masālik: Mukhtaṣar ar-Risālat al-Qushayriyyah.*<sup>2</sup>
  25. Aḥmad al-Qushāshī’s *as-Simṭ al-Majīd [fī Sha’n al-Bay‘ah wa ‘dh-Dhikr wa-Talqīnihi wa-Salāsīl Ahl ‘l-Tawḥīd].*
  26. Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī’s *Īqāz al-Qawābil li-‘t-Taqarrub bi ‘n-Nawāfil.*
- Three books by Sayyid ‘Abd al-Qādir b. Shaykh al-‘Aydarūs:
27. *Ad-Durr ath-Thamīn fī Bayān al-Muhimm min ‘Ilm ad-Dīn.*
  28. *Al-Zahr al-Bāsim.*
  29. *Al-Futūḥāt al-Qudsiyyah.*

Two books by Tāj ad-Dīn an-Naqshabandī al-Hindī al-Makkī:

30. *Jāmi‘ al-Afrād.*
31. *Mawā‘iẓ an-Nafs.*

Five books by Sayyid ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alawī al-Ḥaddād:

32. *An-Naṣā’ih ad-Dīniyyah wa ‘l-Waṣāyā al-Īmāniyyah.*
33. *Iṭḥāf as-Sā’il.*
34. *Al-Fuṣūl al-‘Ilmiyyah wa ‘l-Uṣūl al-Ḥikamiyyah.*
35. *Risālat al-Mu‘āwanah wa ‘l-Muṣāharah wa ‘l-Mu‘āzarah li ‘r-Rāghibīn min ‘l-Mu‘minīn fī Ṭarīq al-Ākhirah.*
36. *Ad-Da‘wat at-Tāmmah wa ‘l-Tadhkirat al-‘Āmmah.*

Six books by Muṣṭafā b. Kamāl ad-Dīn al-Bakrī:

37. *Al-Waṣiyyat al-Jaliyyah li ‘s-Sālikīn li-Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyyah.*
38. *Hadīyyat al-Aḥbāb fī-mā li ‘l-Khalwah min ‘sh-Shurūṭ wa ‘l-Ādāb.*
39. *Risālat aṣ-Ṣuḥbah allatī Bayyana fīhā al-Khidmah wa ‘l-Maḥabbah.*
40. *Bulūgh al-Marām fī Khalwat Ahl ash-Shām.*
41. *Naẓm al-Qilādah fī Kayfiyyat Ijlās al-Murīd ‘alā ‘s-Sajjādah.*

42. *Al-Manhal al-‘Adhb fī Dhikr aṣ-Ṣalawāt wa ‘t-Ṭarīq wa ‘l-Awrād.*

Six books by Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān:

43. *An-Nafahāt al-Ilāhiyyah fī Kayfiyyat Sulūk Ṭarīq al-Muḥammadiyyah.*  
 44. *‘Unwān al-Jalwah fī Sha’n al-Khalwah.*  
 45. *Igāthāt al-Lahfān.*  
 46. *Kashf Asrār fī-mā Yata‘allaq bi-hi Ism al-Qaḥḥār.*  
 47. *Al-Futūḥāt al-Ilāhiyyah fī ‘t-Tawajjuhāt ar-Rūḥiyyah li ‘l-Ḥaḍrat al-Muḥammadiyyah.*  
 48. *An-Naṣīḥāt al-‘Alawiyyah li ‘s-Sādat al-Aḥdaliyyah.*

Two books by Ṣiddīq b. ‘Umar Khān al-Madanī:

49. *As-Sammāniyyah fī Sulūk al-Waḥdāniyyah.*  
 50. *Al-Futūḥāt as-Sammāniyyah fī Ṭarīq al-Qādiriyyah.*  
 51. Sayyid ‘Abd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Mīrghanī’s *Tanbīh al-Ḥaqq fī Ḥayyiz al-Farq wa-Faṭḥ al-Muta‘ālī fī Waqt Ighfālī* commentary of al-Ḥaddād’s poem ‘*ilzam bāb Rabbik.*’  
 52. ‘Abd ar-Ra’ūf as-Sinkīlī’s *‘Umdat al-Muḥtājīn fī Sulūk Maslak al-Mufradīn.*

Three books by ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī himself:

53. *Hidāyat as-Sālikīn fī Sulūk Maslak al-Muttaqīn.*  
 54. *Sayr as-Sālikīn ilā ‘Ibādat Rabb al-‘Ālamīn.*  
 55. *Al-‘Urwat al-Wuthqā wa-Silsilat al-Walī al-Atqā.*

2. Books recommended for *al-mutawassīṭ* (the intermediate):

Three works by Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh al-Iskandarī:

56. *At-Tanwīr fī Isqāṭ at-Tadbīr.*  
 57. *Laṭā’if al-Minan.*  
 58. *al-Ḥikam.*  
 59. Ibn ‘Abbād’s commentary on *al-Ḥikam* entitled [*Ghayth al-Mawāhib al-‘Aliyyah fī Sharḥ al-Ḥikam*].  
 60. Aḥmad al-Marzūqī’s commentary on *al-Ḥikam.*

61. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. ‘Allān al-Bakrī an-Naqshabandī’s commentary on *al-Ḥikam*.
  62. Aḥmad al-Qushāshī’s commentary on *al-Ḥikam*.
  63. Abū Madyan’s *Kitāb al-Ḥikam*.
  64. Ibn ‘Allān an-Naqshabandī’s commentary on Abū Madyan’s *al-Ḥikam*.
  65. Raslān ad-Dimashqī’s [*Risālah fī ‘t-Tawḥīd*].<sup>3</sup>
  66. Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī’s *Fath ar-Raḥmān* a commentary on *Risālat al-Walī Raslān*.
  67. Its commentary by Ibn ‘Allān.
  68. Its commentary by ‘Abd al-Ghanī an-Nābulusī entitled [*Khamrat al-Ḥān wa-Rannat al-Alhān Sharḥ Risālat ash-Shaykh Raslān*].
  69. ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī’s *Futūḥ al-Ghayb*.
  70. ‘Abd al-Qādir al-‘Aydarūs’s *al-Kibrīt al-Aḥmar wa ‘l-Iksīr al-Akbar*.
  71. ‘Abd Allāh as-Suhrawardī’s *al-Masābir*.
- Two works by ‘Abd al-Wahhāb ash-Sha‘rānī:
72. *Al-Jawāhir wa ‘l-Yawāqīt*.
  73. *Al-Jawāhir wa ‘d-Durar*.
  74. Muḥammad Abū al-Mawāhib ash-Shādhilī’s *Risālat Qawānīn Ḥikam al-Ishrāq ilā ‘ṣ-Ṣūfiyyah bi-Jamī‘ al-Āfāq*.
  75. Ibn ‘Allān an-Naqshabandī’s *Sharḥ Qaṣīdat Ibn Bint al-Mīlaq*.
  76. Sayyid Abū Bakr b. Sālim b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān as-Saqqāf’s *Mi‘rāj al-Arwāḥ fī ‘l-Manhaj al-Waḍḍāḥ*.
  77. Sayyid Muḥammad Ghawth’s *al-Jawāhir al-Khams*.
  78. Ḥusayn b. ‘Abd Allāh Bā-Faḍl’s *al-Fuṣūl at-Taḥiyyah* [sic] wa ‘n-Nafaḥāt ar-Rūḥāniyyah.
  79. ‘Abd al-Ghanī an-Nābulusī’s *Miftāḥ al-Ma‘iyyah fī ‘t-Ṭarīqat an-Naqshabandiyyah*, a commentary on Tāj ad-Dīn an-Naqshabandī’s epistle.
  80. Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī’s *aḍ-Ḍhiyā’ ash-Shamsī ‘alā ‘l-Fath al-Qudsī*.
  81. Muḥammad as-Sammān’s *Risālat Asrār al-‘Ibādāt*.



Four books by Şiddīq al-Madanī:

82. *Murshid aṭ-Ṭullāb ilā Sulūk Ṭarīq al-Aḥbāb.*
83. *Kashf al-Astār al-Wahhābiyyah ‘an Jamāl al-‘Ayniyyah*, a commentary on as-Sammān’s *al-Qaṣīdat al-‘Ayniyyah*.
84. Commentary on Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī’s *tawḥīd al-af’āl wa-tawḥīd al-asmā’ wa-tawḥīd aṣ-ṣifāt wa-tawḥīd adh-dhāt*.
85. Commentary on as-Sammān’s epistle on *tawassul*.
86. ‘Abd al-Ghanī b. Abī Bakr b. ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Qāsim, better known as al-‘Ālim aṣ-Ṣūfī al-Hindī al-Madanī’s *Faṭḥ ar-Raḥmān Sharḥ Risālat Asrār al-‘Ibādāt*.

3. Books recommended for *al-muntahī* (the adepts):

Three books by Muḥyī ad-Dīn Ibn al-‘Arabī:

87. *Mawāqī‘ an-Nujūm* [wa-Maṭāli‘ Ahillat al-Asrār wa ‘l-‘Ulūm].
88. *Al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyyah*.
89. *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*.
90. Munlā ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Jāmī’s *Sharḥ Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*.
91. ‘Abd al-Ghanī an-Nābulusī’s *Sharḥ Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*.
92. ‘Alī b. Aḥmad al-Mahāyimī (or al-Mahā’imī) al-Hindī’s *Sharḥ Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*.
93. ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Jīlī’s *al-Insān al-Kāmil fī Ma‘rifat al-Awākhir wa ‘l-Awā’il*.

Three works by Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī:

94. *al-Maḍnū bi-hi ‘alā Ghayr Ahlih*.
95. *Mishkāt al-Anwār*.
96. *Al-Maqṣad al-Asnā fī Ma‘nā Asmā’ Allāh al-Ḥusnā*.  
\*. Several chapters on discussion of ‘ilm al-ḥaqīqah in *Iḥyā’ ‘Ulūm ad-Dīn*: namely *kitāb aṣ-ṣabr*, *kitāb ash-shukr*, *kitāb al-maḥabbah*, *kitāb at-tawḥīd* and the beginning of *kitāb at-tawakkul*.<sup>4</sup>
97. Muḥammad b. Faḍl Allāh al-Burhānpūrī’s *at-Tuḥfah al-Mursalāh ilā ‘n-Nabī SAW*.
98. Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī’s *Iṭḥāf adh-Dhakī Sharḥ at-Tuḥfat al-Mursalāh*.

Two works by ‘Abd al-Ghanī’s an-Nābulusī:

99. *Nukhbat al-Mas’alah Sharḥ at-Tuḥfat al-Mursalah.*
100. *Īdāḥ al-Maqṣūd min Ma’nā Waḥdat al-Wujūd.*

Two works by ‘Abd al-Wahhāb ash-Sha’rānī:

101. *Lawāqih al-Anwār al-Qudsiyyah Mukhtaṣar al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyyah.*
102. *Kashf al-Ḥijāb wa ‘r-Rān ‘an Wajh As’ilat al-Jān.*
103. *Al-Qūnawī’s al-Futūḥāt.*
104. *Aḥmad ash-Shinnāwī’s Mir’āt al-Ḥaqā’iq.*
105. *‘Alī al-Mahāyimī’s Irādat ad-Daqā’iq fī Sharḥ Mir’āt al-Ḥaqā’iq.*  
\*. Aḥmad al-Qushāshī’s *Sharḥ Hikam Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh.*<sup>5</sup>
106. *Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī’s al-Maslak al-Mukhtār fī Ma’rifat aṣ-Ṣādir al-Awwal wa-Aḥdāth al-‘Ālam bi ‘l-Ikhtiyār.*

Two works by Sham ad-Dīn b. ‘Abd Allāh as-Sumatrānī:

107. *Jawhar al-Ḥaqā’iq.*
108. *Tanbīh at-Ṭullāb fī Ma’rifat al-Malik al-Wahhāb.*
109. *‘Abd ar-Ra’ūf as-Sinkilī’s Ta’yīd al-Bayān Ḥāshiyat Īdāḥ al-Bayān fī Taḥqīq Masā’il al-A’yān.*
110. *‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī’s Zād al-Muttaqīn fī Tawḥīd Rabb al-‘Ālamīn.*

## Endnotes

- <sup>1</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 3, pp. 176-83.
- <sup>2</sup> Wrongly written as *Minhāj Masālik ilā Ashraf al-Masālik.*
- <sup>3</sup> Listed as *Kitāb al-Ḥikam*. However, from the description of its commentary by Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī and ‘Abd al-Ghanī an-Nābulusī, it is clear this is Raslān ad-Dimashqī’s *Risālah fī ‘t-Tawḥīd*.
- <sup>4</sup> Except for these chapters, the *Iḥyā’ ‘Ulūm ad-Dīn* is generally suitable for the muṭtadī as mentioned by al-Falimbānī earlier.
- <sup>5</sup> This text is also recommended earlier by al-Falimbānī for *mutawassīṭ*.



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- , *Kashf al-Kirām fī Bayān an-Niyyat ‘inda Takbīrat al-Ihrām* (The Bounteous Exposure on the Exposition of Intention upon the Opening Takbir) [كَشْفُ الْكَرَامِ فِي بَيَانِ النِّيَّةِ عِنْدَ تَكْبِيرَةِ الْإِحْرَامِ], National Library of Malaysia, MSS 497, MSS 1048, MS 2455, MS 2476.
- , *Talkhīṣ al-Falāḥ fī Bayān Ahkām at-Ṭalāq wa ‘n-Nikāḥ* (Summary of Success on the Exposition of the Rules of Divorce and Marriage) [تَلْخِيصُ الْفَلَاحِ فِي بَيَانِ أَحْكَامِ الطَّلَاقِ وَالنِّكَاحِ], National Library of Malaysia, MS 1518, MSS 2308, MSS 287, MSS 2824, MSS 2537.
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# ISLAM IN THE MALAY WORLD

AL-FALIMBANI'S SCHOLARSHIP

Abd al-Samad al-Falimbani is an eighteenth century Muslim scholar from Palembang, located in the Indonesian island of Sumatra. Through the examination of his unpublished manuscripts and published works, this book explores al-Falimbani's biography, his various scholarly contributions, Sufi orientation as well as the intellectual developments of the Malay Archipelago. It uncovers evidence of al-Falimbani's great erudition in the major Islamic sciences by tracing his early education, the developments of his intellectual maturity and the influence of various well-known scholars who shared their expertise with him. This book represents the first product of research which utilises a wide range of data and classical sources relating to al-Falimbani, including manuscripts, *Jawi* books, Arabic biographical dictionaries and many others included in a comprehensive bibliography list. *Islam in the Malay World: Al-Falimbani's Scholarship* will serve as a valuable reference for Muslim scholars and general readers who have an interest in the traditional Malay religio-intellectual culture.

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